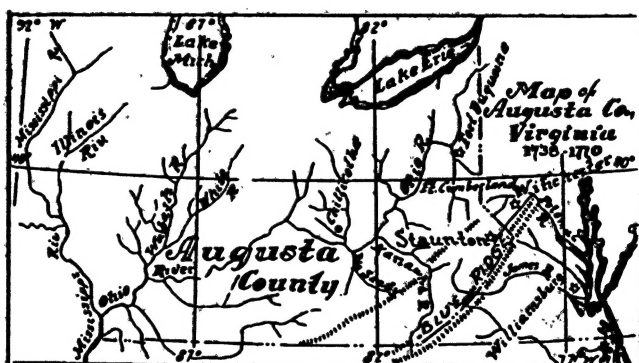


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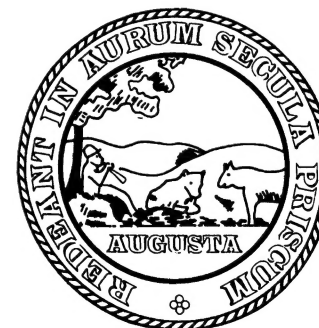
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THE MOSSY CREEK IRON WORKS*

by
James W. Wilson

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION

The Mossy Creek Iron Works were a significant industrial enterprise in the eighteenth century backcountry of Virginia. It impacted the people and the landscape in many ways. To best understand this, one must first look at the geographic location, the settlement patterns that existed prior to the establishment of the iron works, and at the technologies involved with iron production.

The spring-fed Mossy Creek is a tributary of North River and lies in the north-central part of Augusta County and south-central Rockingham County. Mossy Creek's two main tributaries, Pudding Spring and Whet Stone Draft, flow northeast from their origins, near Parnassus and Moscow and come together near Mount Solon. The main channel of Mossy Creek continues to flow northeast until it joins the North River west of Bridgewater. The stream maintains a nearly constant flow and temperature all year, is surrounded by rolling hills, and flows through several narrow gaps. To the west is Free Mason's Run, and to the east is Long Glade.

The geology of the area influences the topography, the soil types, and what mineral resources were available for exploitation. The Mossy Creek drainage is underlain predominately by limestones and dolomites, with some thin layers of sandstone interbedded with the limestone. This underlying bedrock influences the soil development that takes place above it over thousands of years. The soil types in the area are typically very deep and well-drained.¹

Settlement Patterns

The settlement pattern along Mossy Creek in the eighteenth century went through several phases—roughly corresponding to Robert Mitchell's three levels of backcountry developmental and spatial change as outlined in his book *Commercialism and Frontier*. The first tracts of land surveyed along Mossy Creek were the prime areas for agricultural or industrial development, and were shaped not only to incorporate the best land but also to offer relatively simple surveying in the field. The dispersed settlement pattern that developed continued through the 1760s. The early settlers were yeomen farmers who had to clear small portions of their parcels in order to receive patents. Many already owned land in Beverly Manor or along Long Glade. These early settlers included William Anderson, John

¹Eugene K. Rader. *Geology of the Stokesville and Parnassus Quadrangles, Virginia* (Charlottesville: Virginia Division of Mineral Resources, 1969), Plate 2. Soil Survey of Augusta County, Virginia (United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service and Forest Service, 1979), 3, 41, 75, 108-109, 129, General Soil Map. Percentage of slope is calculated by multiplying 100 and the vertical distance, then dividing by the horizontal distance; thus, a 20 feet drop in elevation over 100 feet horizontally is described as having a slope of 20 percent.

* Presented May 15, 1994 Augusta County Historical Society

Davis(Davies), Robert Ralston, Edward & Andrew Erwin, Moses Hall, David McComis, John Nichol, John and James McCoy, William McFeeters, and John Stevan.²

From the early 1760s until the American Revolution, a second phase of land acquisition occurred which consisted of expanding and transferring existing tracts and the creation of new tracts of less desirable land. New people acquiring land during this period included William Minter, Mathew and William Ralston, Samuel McFeeters, Adam Stephenson, Joseph Rheaburn, and Robert Curry. This part of the county became populated enough by this period to support the formal organization of two congregations: St. Michaels German Reformed in Wise Hollow in 1764, and Mossy Creek Presbyterian Church in 1768.³

By the 1780s the third phase of settlement was underway and was driven by the Mossy Creek Iron Works. This third phase of backcountry settlement is characterized by more intense manufacturing, growing external contacts, and agricultural regionalization. Land acquisition along Mossy Creek during this phase is characterized by the purchase of odd-shaped tracts of various sizes between existing surveys and fully encompassed the land in the Mossy Creek drainage by 1800. These tracts typically contained hill tops and steep slopes and were better suited for grazing and timber production than cultivation. New names of land owners included Henry Miller, Abel Griffith, John McDugall, Jacob Doran, William Mathews, James Davis, and Joseph Rankin.⁴

The Iron Works

Iron works were the most significant industrial enterprises that developed in the backcountry during the eighteenth century. They provided pig iron for exportation and manufactured iron products for domestic use. These industrial complexes, or plantations, usually contained a variety of primary and support industries and essentially functioned as small towns. Some sparked the settlement of an area and others intruded on existing communities.

Early and small scale iron manufacturing in America was based on a centuries old technology known as a bloomery forge. This technique allowed only small amounts of iron ore to be refined into usable iron. Iron ore was heated on a charcoal fired hearth to reduce the iron oxide to iron in the form of a spongy mass of metal and slag called a bloom. Repeated hammering of the red-hot bloom consolidated the iron and squeezed out the slag. This type of forge was often constructed to test the quality of iron ore before a more expensive, and large scale operation was created.⁵

The processes involved at a full scale iron plantation to convert iron ore to usable iron were many and varied. These plantations required easy access to and control of: (1) large deposits of iron ore, (2) vast timber stands, (3) outcroppings of limestone, and (4) a steady supply of water with a significant amount of drop in elevation to power water wheels. The

²Robert D. Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 1-14; James W. Wilson, The Mossy Creek Area of Augusta County, Virginia, During the Eighteenth Century: The Land and the People, (James Madison University thesis, 1993) 9-27.

³James W. Wilson, Mossy Creek, 28-36.

⁴Robert D. Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier, 1-14; James W. Wilson, Mossy Creek, 36-45.

⁵James A. Mulholland, A History of Metals in Colonial America, (University: The University of Alabama Press, 1981), 67-69.

function of the iron furnace was to reduce iron ore to pure iron, usually in the form of pig iron, or cast iron products. A blast furnace is charge was of successive layers of limestone, iron ore, and charcoal placed into the furnace opening from the top.⁶

Charcoal was produced from a controlled, slow burning of wood and is an almost pure carbon fuel which provided an intense heat in the furnace. Limestone provided a flux which fused with the impurities released from the iron ore and formed a slag that separated from the pure iron. Running water was needed to turn water wheels which powered bellows that sent a blast of cold air into the furnace interior to create a fire of 2,600° to 3,000° F. The iron absorbed carbon which lowered its melting temperature and gave charcoal derived cast iron its gray color. The molten iron and slag flowed to the bottom of the furnace and collected behind a dam stone. The lighter slag would float on top of the iron and was drawn off through the "cinder notch." The molten iron was then either ladled out and poured into molds, or allowed to flow into trenches forming pigs. The bars of iron were called pigs because the iron flowed into a central gutter with perpendicular trenches coming off each side, resembling a sow suckling its piglets.⁷

In the Shenandoah Valley, Isaac Zane's Marlborough Furnace in Frederick County and Henry Miller's Mossy Creek Iron Works were the two most significant iron works during the eighteenth century. Nineteenth-century letters in the Draper Collection indicate that the creator of the Mossy Creek Iron Works, Henry Miller, came into the Mossy Creek area with his cousin Daniel Boone in the late 1740s to trap animals for their fur. The letters go on to say that while they were in the area Henry Miller found iron ore along Mossy Creek and began to buy the iron deposits. Various historians including Joseph Waddell and Kathleen Bruce have indicated that Henry, or possibly his father John, started the iron works as early as the 1750s. J.P. Lesley's 1859 The Iron Manufacturers' Guide indicates that the Mossy Creek forge was built in 1757 and the furnace in 1760. Only these nineteenth-century sources have been found that support these early dates. Andrew Erwin owned what was to become the core of the iron works site during the 1750's, and sold the land to William Minter in 1760, who sold it to Adam Stephenson a few years later. Minter was a miller who bought and sold several tracts of land in the Valley before moving to North Carolina in the 1760's. Adam Stephenson later had an armory near Martinsburg which was producing about a dozen high-quality muskets weekly by the time of the Revolution. It is unknown at this point whether any of these men were involved with iron production at this site.⁸

⁶Mulholland, History of Metals, 66-70; National Park Service, A Guide to Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site, Pennsylvania, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1983), 10, 14; Charles Coulston Gillispie, ed., A Diderot Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry: Manufacturing and the Technical Arts in Plates Selected from "L'Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Metiers" of Denis Diderot (New York: Dover Publications, 1959), Plate 84, Iron Mining III.

⁷John B. Pearse, A Concise History of the Iron Manufacture of the American Colonies Up To the Revolution. and of Pennsylvania Until the Present Time, (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, Publishers and Printers, 1876), 15; National Park Service, Hopewell Furnace, 10-15.

⁸Lyman Copeland Draper, The Draper Manuscript Collection Microform (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1980), 20: 5, microfilm; Jos. A. Waddell, Annals of Augusta County, Virginia (Richmond, Virginia: Wm. Ellis Jones, Book and Job Printer, 1886); Kathleen Bruce, Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era (New York: The Century Company, 1931), 21.

There are several primary documents and artifacts that indicate the iron works was probably built, or expanded, in the 1770s and definitely in operation by 1775. Henry Miller and Mark Bird, both of Berks County, Pennsylvania, purchased several tracts of land along Mossy Creek and North River in April, 1774. When Bird sold his portion to Miller in 1779, the deed indicated that Bird and Miller entered into Articles of Copartnership June 1, 1774, for the purpose of "...carrying on the act of Mastery and Business of Iron Masters and for erecting and building... the necessary Forges, Furnaces & mills for carrying on the business..." When the itinerant preacher Phillip Vickers Fithian came to the area in 1776 he indicated in his journal that he was near "the furnace." And finally, an iron stove plate from the iron works bears the inscription "Bird & Miller, Massey Creek Fornace, 1775."⁹

Mark Bird's involvement at the iron works may have been minimal. While records indicate that Bird's consent to sell his share of the business to Miller was signed at Mossy Creek, Bird likely remained in Pennsylvania most of the time where he ran or invested in several other iron works, including Hopewell Furnace. Some of these iron works supplied ordnance to the American military and were ready to prove cannon in 1776. Mark Bird was a leading patriot of eastern Pennsylvania and was a brother-in-law and business partner of James Wilson, who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Bird was also a member of the Pennsylvania Provincial Conference of 1776 and held the rank of Colonel during the American Revolution. Bird was so committed to the cause that he provided the American forces with many supplies without compensation. This, along with the economic downturn after the Revolution, led to his financial ruin because he was never able to collect on his expenditures. In contrast to Mark Bird, there is little evidence that Henry Miller was a leader in the support of the American Revolution or ever held a political office.¹⁰

Miller and other Mossy Creek community members did, however, support the fight for independence. Many, including Henry Miller's son Samuel, served in various militia units during the Revolution. Many community members also sold supplies and services to the Dragoons stationed near Staunton (see Table I).¹¹ The materials supplied to the troops give a good glimpse of what the people along Mossy Creek were doing with their land. Not surprisingly, beef and flour were the predominate materials supplied and follow the trend towards agricultural regionalization and commercialization. The grazing of cattle and growing wheat were two agricultural pursuits that the soils and terrain along Mossy Creek could support and were traditions familiar to the Ulster Scotch-Irish. Flax production persisted as well. When the itinerant preacher Phillip Vickers Fithian came to Mossy Creek in 1776, he indicated in his journal that there was to be a "'Scotching' Frolick" with "more

⁹Augusta County Deed Book 20: 352, 23: 23, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia; Robert G. Albion and L. Dodson, ed. Philip Vickers Fithian: Journal. 1775-1776 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934), 179; Elmer L. Smith, Arts and Crafts of the Shenandoah Valley (Lebanon, Pennsylvania: Applied Arts Publishers, 1968), 41.

¹⁰Augusta County Deed Book 23: 23, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia; Mulholland, History of Metals, 134; Arthur Cecil Bining, Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century, 2nd Ed. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1987), 120-125; National Park Service, Hopewell Furnace, 28-33.

¹¹John H. Gwathmey, Historical Register of Virginia in the Revolution (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1938); Augusta County Court of Claims: 1782-1785, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia.

than ninety Males & Females gathered to dress Flax." Fithian seemed surprised that the women actually helped with the dressing of flax. On this particular occasion, the work was to be followed by a dance.¹²

The remote location of the Mossy Creek Iron Works relative to military engagements makes it an unlikely candidate for ordnance production during the American Revolution, and no records have been found to indicate that it produced ordnance. Typical domestic products produced at iron works in the backcountry included stove plates, farm implements and household utensils. These products were sold to merchants in nearby towns and in the company store at the iron works. Thomas Jefferson states in his Notes on Virginia that the two Shenandoah Valley iron works, Miller's and Zane's, were both producing about 150 tons of bar iron and 600 tons of pig iron annually. Similar quantities were being produced at iron works east of the Blue Ridge. From 1777 to 1784, Miller is known to have sold bar iron, cast products and "specialty steel" to Colonel James Madison in Orange County (see Table II).¹³

The production of pig and bar iron only tells part of the story of what was taking place on this back country industrial plantation. The spring fed stream provided year-round water without major flooding problems, and there is enough fall in elevation to support multiple water wheels. An 1800 newspaper advertisement for the sale of the property described the iron works as consisting of a:

Furnace, Forge (with two hammers and three fires) Sawmill, and a Grist-Mill, (two stories high, built with stone) with three pairs of stones; all within 150 yards of each other, on a never failing stream, ... a frame Coal House, 45 by 30 feet, for the forge; a stone [Coal House], for the furnace, 80 by 38-1/2 feet; a Barn, 80 by 40 feet, with stables for 52 head of cattle; a stone dwelling house, 57 feet front and 36 wide, two stories high, with a cellar and kitchen below; two stone Spring Houses, and a Meat House, a frame Dwelling House, 30 feet square and 2 stories high, with a cellar; an Office and Store House; together with stables and all necessary out[ing] buildings for carrying on the iron business.¹⁴

Miller was but one of several people operating mills along Mossy Creek. Adam Stephenson acquired permission to build a grist mill on his land along Mossy Creek on December 25, 1784, and Edward Erwin received similar permission on January 18, 1785. By 1787, Adam Stephenson, whose property was upstream from Edward Erwin's, was suing Erwin for £200 in damages. Apparently, Erwin's dam was raising the water level to the point

¹²Mitchell, Commercialism, 147-149; Richard K. McMasters, "The Cattle Trade in Western Virginia, 1760-1830," in Robert D. Mitchell, ed. Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society & Development in the Preindustrial Era (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 127-149; Robert G. Albion and L. Dodson, ed. Philip Vickers Fithian: Journal. 1775-1776 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934), 179, 180.

¹³William P. Palmer, M.D., Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts: 1652-1781 (New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1968), 1: 433-434; Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1982), reprint of 1781, 28; Mulholland, History of Metals, 156; microfilm copy of Colonel James Madison's Account Books 1776-1817, Ledger D, 49, Misc. Reel 8 located at Montpelier.

¹⁴Newspaper text as transcribed in Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA) collection of Mossy Creek material from The Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser Richmond, Virginia, December 26, 1800, 4-5.

where Stephenson's mill would not operate. The suit continued through most of 1788 and many community members, including Henry Miller, were summoned to testify on Stephenson's behalf. Stephenson, Erwin or Henry Miller may have employed Robert Witherow as their miller, for in 1794 he is identified as having been a miller on Mossy Creek.¹⁵

Other enterprises Henry Miller had included a maple sugar camp in the mountains to the west of his iron works. Other than cane sugar, which was not grown in the area, producing sugar from maple trees was the most viable alternative. Henry Miller also collected honey and had nineteen bee scaps in his 1798 estate inventory.¹⁶

Paper shortages arose from the conflict with Great Britain and colonial governments encouraged the creation of paper mills to fill this void. Miller took advantage of this shortage and constructed a paper mill along Mossy Creek, probably in the late 1780s. Miller's paper mill was a large operation that served many area printers. The largest of the three Virginia paper mills in Tench Coxe's 1810 census of manufactures was in Augusta County, had a value of \$14,400 and was likely to have belonged to James Miller, who had inherited the paper mill from his father, Henry.¹⁷

Paper at this time was made from linen, cotton and hempen rags in a labor intensive process that had existed for many centuries. The process involved several people and took several weeks from start to finish. The first step was to clean and shred the rags manually or with the aid of a variety of machinery. The rag pulp was then placed into a priming vat with additional water. Paper molds or sieves the size of the desired paper were dipped into the priming vat to collect the proper amount of pulp. The paper was removed from the mold, placed between felt or woolen sheets, and pressed to remove the water. The paper was removed from the felt, pressed again, and then hung to dry. When the paper was dry enough, it was rubbed smooth and laid out and sized. The sizing material was made from boiling alum and shreds and parings from tanners, curriers or parchment makers. The dried paper was then folded, pressed, wrapped, and ready for sale. Henry Miller's estate appraisal in 1798 listed many of these things at his paper mill (see Table III).¹⁸

Henry Miller also raised cattle for his own use and to sell. In 1782, he received payment in the Augusta County Court of Claims for providing 750 pounds of stall fed beef to the troops stationed in Staunton which brought Miller a premium price. This was the only

¹⁵Augusta County Survey Book 3: 216, 220; Augusta County Court Judgements, File 443, Stephenson vs. Erwin, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia; Lyman Chalkley, Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia: Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County. 1745-1800. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965), 2: 34.

¹⁶Augusta County Will Book 1A: 36, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia.

¹⁷North Carolina Gazette, November 14, 1777, as quoted in The State Records of North Carolina collected and edited by Walter Clark, (1907), 804-805; Tench Coxe, A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America for the Year 1810, (Philadelphia: A. Cornman Jr., 1814), 106.

¹⁸Mitchell, Commercialism, 209; Charles A. Goodrich, ed. A New Family Encyclopedia: or Compendium of Universal Knowledge: comprehending A Plain and Practical View of Those Subjects. Most Interesting to Persons. In the Ordinary Professions of Life (1831), s.v. "Manufactures: Paper," 271-273; Gillispie, Diderot Encyclopedia of Trades; Augusta County Will Book 1A: 36, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia.

mention of stall fed beef in the claims records. He also received payment for providing twenty-six camp kettles and twenty-four ovens without lids. Miller was the largest cattle owner in Augusta County in 1787 with 109 head. His estate inventory included 161 head of cattle, thirteen oxen, twenty-six horses, thirty-one sheep, and four hogs (see Table IV).¹⁹

An imported bull, English heifer and English cow in Miller's inventory show that Miller was actively involved with improving his herd. Each of these imported animals were valued in his estate for more than many of his slaves. Miller and Matthew Patton purchased imported cattle from Harry Dorsey Gough of Baltimore County, Maryland. Gough started importing improved English cattle into America in 1783. The oxen and horses were most likely used for transportation, to pull farm implements and to pull wagons of charcoal, iron ore, and finished iron products.²⁰

Transportation to markets was of great concern to the successful iron master. While over half of the Pennsylvania iron works were within a forty mile radius of the major market of Philadelphia, the Mossy Creek Iron Works were far removed from any one central market. The markets for the Mossy Creek Iron Works were the local community, the small towns of Harrisonburg and Staunton, and across the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Piedmont region, as evidenced by Miller's business with Colonel James Madison in Orange County. Miller also needed roads to get the raw materials to the furnace. Iron ore was excavated from open pits surrounding the iron works and hauled to the furnace. Large volumes of ore were required, typically two tons of ore were required for every ton of pig iron produced.²¹

Influencing the locations of roads was one important way in which iron masters altered the landscape for the benefit of the overall community. However, heavy use of these roads also impeded travelers as indicated in a 1795 petition to the Court of Rockingham County from prominent men in the Mount Solon and Mossy Creek areas. The petition states that "the Public Way past Henry Millers Iron Works to Rockingham ... is conducted so unskillfully as to produce great inconveniences to the public at large & also to individuals through whose land it Passes." It was many years before the roads were improved and it was not until 1831 that the Harrisonburg to Warm Springs Turnpike was initiated. This turnpike came through the iron works, though the 1831 turnpike surveyor's notebook indicates the preferred path was to go around the iron works.²²

The possibility exists that Miller, or later iron masters, used Mossy Creek and North River for transportation both to and from the iron works. Mark Bird and Henry Miller were familiar with the advantages and processes involved, for in 1773 Mark Bird, and possibly Henry Miller, were appointed to a Pennsylvania Commission for making a river in Pennsylvania navigatable. An 1848 sketch and an early twentieth-century photograph of the

¹⁹Augusta County Court of Claims: 1782-1785, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia; Netti Schreiner-Yantis and Florene Speakman Love, The 1787 Census of Virginia (Springfield, Virginia: Genealogical Books in Print, 1987), 106-135; Augusta County Will Book 1A: 34-38, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia.

²⁰Mitchell, Apalachian Frontiers 137, 146; Augusta County Court of Claims: 1782-1785; Augusta County Will Book 1A: 34-38, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia.

²¹Mulholland, Metals, 72; MESDA file on Mossy Creek Iron Works; Mitchell, Commercialism, 46.

²²The Rockingham Recorder 1, no. 1, (April 1945), 51; Board of Public Works, Surveyor's Field Notebook, Box 344, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

stone grist mill show that an opening and overhang, typically used for hoisting things into or out of the mill, was over the creek. These doors could not be accessed from the sides because there were water wheels on both sides of the mill. Though it is possible that there was a platform on the other side of the creek that was used to pass materials across to the mill. Evidence of direct modification of the stream channel, possibly to make it navigable, is visible in several of Jedediah Hotchkiss' nineteenth century maps of Augusta County and one 1848 survey for Daniel Forrer, who was operating the iron works at the time. Another explanation for these stream modifications is the possibility that they were made simply to improve the discharge of water from the various water wheels in use at the iron works.²³

The greatest impact on the environment by the iron works was charcoal production. The amount of iron an iron works produced was dependent on this fuel source, and therefore large timber stands were cut down. To get an idea of Miller's iron production potential and the amount of land cleared during the eighteenth century, I combined a known annual production figure with estimates on timber acreage required to produce charcoal and with Miller's actual land holdings. I estimate that the Mossy Creek Iron Works would have required the clearing of 5700 to 8700 acres of land from 1775 to 1800 to maintain Jefferson's production figures (see Table V).²⁴

Extant records indicate that Henry Miller acquired sufficient land within the first ten years of operation to sustain large production levels for some time. Most of these lands were either along Mossy Creek and Long Glade, or to the north and west within the North River drainage basin (see Table VI). An 1800 newspaper advertisement for the sale of the iron works described the iron works as having "upwards of 8000 acres of WELL TIMBERED LAND, suitable for wheat, corn etc." Insight into the question of whether these lands were kept clear for grazing, or allowed to grow back into trees for later harvesting, may be derived from future analysis. Many Pennsylvania iron masters would return to the same parcel of land every 20-25 years to reharvest the timber.²⁵

In order to keep up with these production levels Miller needed a large, hard working and low cost labor force which he found by using slaves and indentured servants. Forty-two slaves were listed by name in his estate inventory. Three had their occupations listed, two forgers and one blacksmith. Another was listed as "Jack (wagoner)," which could be his occupation or last name. Other slave names were clarified with descriptive terms like old, big, little, yellow, black, and Branch. Some slaves ran away and Miller placed notices in newspapers offering rewards for their return. One in particular, Prince, ran away in 1785 and 1792 but appears in Miller's estate appraisal in 1796. One notice indicated that Dave, a yellow negro man, had the letter "M" branded on his forehead. Miller's indentured servants also ran away. Charles Bagly, an English indentured servant in his early twenties who was

²³The possibility of using Mossy Creek for transportation needs to be investigated further; Pennsylvania Gazette, April 28, 1773, 4, as noted in Hopewell Village National Historic Park files on Mark Bird, Pennsylvania; Jedediah Hotchkiss diaries, Book 2, (1847-1848), Papers of ongress; Jedediah Hotchkiss, Map of Augusta County, Virginia, (Washington D.C.: United States Army, 1875), Hotchkiss Map Collection, Library of Congress.

²⁴Pearse, Iron Manufacture, 15, 69.

²⁵Augusta County Survey and Deed Books, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia; The Virginia Gazette and General Advisor Richmond, Virginia, December 25, 1800, 4-5, as recorded in MESDA files on Mossy Creek Iron Works.

trained as a weaver, ran away in 1787. Another indentured servant was David Hessin, an Irishman in his early twenties, who had only been in the United States three years when he ran away in 1790. David Hessin was thought to be capable of forging passes. The reward notices for the capture and return of these slaves and indentured servants were posted in Virginia and Maryland newspapers.²⁶

Very few of the other people who worked for Henry Miller have been identified. Henry's son Samuel worked and trained under his father. In 1789 stove plates cast at the iron works bore Samuel's name and Henry stipulated in his will that Samuel should take over the business after Henry's death, which Samuel did in 1796. Another of Henry's sons, James, was given the paper mill in Henry's will. Two more of Henry's sons, William and Henry, were to get good English educations and then be bound out to a mechanic of their choice "to learn the art and mastery of his occupation." The only other person known to have worked for Henry Miller is James McCann, who is identified as Henry's clerk when he received property for Henry Miller in 1789.²⁷

Two people who Miller may have contracted were John Sweeny and Samuel Erwin. Henry Miller and John Sweeny were involved in a lawsuit for several years over a 1791 agreement to burn charcoal. Another case that may have stemmed from charcoal production was Miller's suit against Samuel Erwin in 1789. Miller claimed Erwin trespassed onto some of Miller's property in Rockingham County and burnt it. The court ruled in Erwin's favor.

While Henry Miller's business affairs with Colonel James Madison included the exchange of goods and currency over an extended period, he had to take more drastic measures to keep business affairs in order with other people. In 1787, Miller brought suit against Robert Trimble to collect on a debt of £6 19/4 "for value received" in 1784. Miller also sought £3 in damages from Trimble. In 1786 Miller brought suit against David Cole for a £30 debt and asked for an additional £30 for damages. Miller and his heirs were also involved in several disputes over property claims and boundaries.²⁸

On one occasion Henry Miller had to defend his business reputation in the county court. In 1792 he filed suit against Samuel Woods for £500 in damages for slander. Woods was employed as a miller for the merchant Michael Fackler, who had a mill in Staunton. Henry Miller claimed that Woods had intentionally spread false rumors to the effect that

²⁶Augusta County Will Book 1A: 34-38, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia; MESDA files on Mossy Creek Iron Works; Augusta County Deed Book 20: 350-364, 23: 23-27, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton Virginia; Bowen Virginia Centeniel Gazette Winchester, December 15, 1790, as described in Robert K. Headley, Jr. Genealogical Abstracts From Eighteenth Century Virginia Newspapers (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1987).

²⁷Chalkley, Records, 3: 174, 429, 572; Augusta County Will Book 1A: 23-24, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia; The 1789 cast iron stove plate is in the MESDA collection.

²⁸Augusta County Office Judgements, File 909, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia; Augusta County District Court Judgements, as indexed in Chalkley Records, 3: 5, 8, 12, 14, 17, 38.

Miller had sold and applied to his own use flour, rye and wheat that belonged to other people. While the jury found in Miller's favor, they awarded him only one shilling and one pence.²⁹

These business and legal cases show that even a wealthy individual like Henry Miller had to stay involved with the practical, day-to-day matters of collecting small debts and squelching rumors in order to keep his business running. Miller and his iron works also had an impact on the larger community and landscape as has been seen with his land and commercial dealings. His need for timber stands altered the the landscape and land acquisition patterns along Mossy Creek. The size of the iron works and his commercial ties outside of the area transformed the rural, dispersed community into a small but active commercial center in the eighteenth century.

²⁹Augusta District Court Judgements, File 450, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia

TABLE I Revolutionary War support by Mossy Creek landowners. Augusta County Court of Claims: 1782-1785.

NAME	ITEMS SOLD
Robert Curry	687 lbs beef 1 blanket
Jacob Doran	2 bushels wheat 350 lbs beef 1 1/2 bushels oats
Edward Erwin	17 diets 675 lbs beef 1 rifle
Francis Erwin	300 lbs flour
Abel Griffith	238 lbs flour
Henry Miller	6 days waggonage 750 lbs stall-fed beef 26 camp kettles
John McCoy	24 ovens without lids 750 lbs beef
Samuel Ralston	29 days horse hire 275 lbs beef 136 lbs flour

TABLE II Colonel James Madison's accounts with Henry Miller.

Debtor		
Dec. 16, 1777	76 bushels corn delivered at forge	79£
Feb. 14, 1778	cash sent for (?) kind	141£2s
Sep. 7, 1779	cash (sent) son of Moses Hays	19£
Jun. 21, 1784	cash sent you by means of Mr. William Smith, son of Col. Abraham Smith	22£
Per Contract, creditor		
Dec. 16, 1777	1 ton of Bar Iron, Nov 3 castings to amount	100£ 58£3s10p
	1 pot	52£
Jan. 9, 1783	20L special steel	2£10s
June. 29, 1784	1/2 ton of Bar Iron	

TABLE III Items assessed at Henry Miller's paper mill.

Rags	117£ 4s Od
50 Reams Unfinished Printing Paper	30£
169 Reams Unfinished Wrapping Paper	50£ 14s Od
Paper Molds	17£
Felts	43£
33 Reams Wrapping Paper	9£ 18s Od

TABLE IV Henry Miller's cattle, horses and oxen in 1796.

Imported Bull	1	Cows	54
English Heifer	1	Oxen	8
English Cow	1	Young Oxen	5
Calves	8	Black Horse	1
Large Steer	26	Black Stud	1
Lame Steer	1	Black Gelding	7
Heifer	4	Mare	7
Young Heifer	13	Horse	6
Yearling Heifers	8	Stud	1
Steer	30	Young Filly	2
Yearling Steers	11	Colt	1

TABLE V Timber acreage estimates for charcoal production.

Estimated Annual Acreage Cleared for Charcoaling to Produce Different Tonnage of Pig Iron

iron	1	600	810	Convert Pig to Bar	Combined
acres	0.38	228.57	308.57	40.71	349.29
	0.25	150.00	202.50	26.72	229.22

Estimated Acreage Cleared Over 25 Years

iron	1	600	810	Convert Pig to Bar	Combined
acres	9.52	5714.29	7714.29	1017.8	8732.14
	6.25	3750.00	5062.50	667.9	5730.47

TABLE VI Henry Miller's Land Surveys

Years	Acreage		Actual
	Minimum	Maximum	
1775-1779	1146.09	1746.43	3177
1780-1784	2292.19	3492.86	6301
1785-1789	3438.28	5239.29	6856
1790-1794	4584.38	6985.71	7505
1795-1800	5730.47	8732.14	app. 8000

Fighting For The Union: The Political Culture of Anti-Sectionalism in Augusta County, Virginia, 1850-1861*

Part II

By Michael David Lesperance



The Election of 1860

On January 17, 1860, the *Spectator* headed its editorial column "Fighting for the Union." From Brown's raid until secession, a period of nearly a year-and a half, the newspaper editors of Augusta County were involved in a near-constant battle against sectional extremism, both North and South. Before the various parties met to nominate presidential candidates, the first regional challenge to federal Union came in the person of Christopher C. Memminger, sent by South Carolina to Richmond seeking Virginia's participation in a new Southern Conference. "The sentiment of the people of Augusta County on this subject," veteran editor Joseph Waddell declared confidently, "may be inferred from their action in 1850, in reference to the famous Nashville Convention." Once again, former Whigs reiterated their contention that the legislature had no authority to send delegates to such a convention. This time, however, the *Vindicator* disagreed and urged the selection of a delegation from Virginia in order to balance the actions of "her more hot-headed sisters." In the Virginia Senate, Augusta's Alexander H. H. Stuart led the fight against South Carolina's invitation and, on March 8, the legislators voted against the Memminger proposal.⁹⁶

⁹⁶*Staunton Spectator*, February 14, 1860; *Staunton Vindicator*, February 24, 1860; Shanks, pp. 97-100.

[should vote for Bell and Everett.]" Two weeks later, "D.", a Douglas supporter, pleaded, "May the God of nations preserve our country from harm."

The reality of the situation convinced both Mauzy and Yost that a national Republican victory was a real possibility, and they began to prepare their constituents for a Lincoln Presidency. The *Spectator*, on October 23, headed an editorial, "Nothing to Dread from Lincoln," in which Mauzy stressed the protection afforded by the Supreme Court and the Congress, neither of which would be Republican-dominated. "If conservatism and a Union spirit shall prevail in the border Southern States," he declared, "we may prevent any of the other States, by reason and argument, from seceding if Lincoln should be elected. To break up the Government under these circumstances, simply because Lincoln should be elected, would be adding madness to treason." Yost sighed a grudging acquiescence. "We fear the nation will have to groan and suffer for four years under Black Republican rule."¹¹⁶

A week before the election, the *Vindicator* vented its frustrations and raged against Southern extremists who, for their own advantage, had fostered "blind and unhealthy prejudices, and nursed . . . the agitation of sectional excitement and jealousy." "Friends of the Union" expressed disgust that "the inauguration of a President, deliberately chosen by a majority of the American people . . . WILL BE RESISTED BY FORCE."¹¹⁷

On Tuesday, November 6, election day, the *Spectator* exhorted its readers to "SAVE YOUR COUNTRY!" and exclaimed, "Liberty and Union, Now and Forever, One and Inseparable!" "This day," declared the prophetic Mauzy, "will mark an epoch in the history of this country." He and his rival, united under desperate circumstances, had done their part: Augusta County's voters turned out in record number to give two-thirds of their votes to John Bell. Douglas received most of the remainder. Both Bell and Douglas had been presented to voters as Unionist candidates. Together, they polled nearly 95 percent of the vote.¹¹⁸

Between Lincoln's Victory and Fort Sumter

Lincoln's victory marks the point at which most historians begin to study Unionism. Daniel Crofts, it will be recalled, cites the election as the first "wave" of secessionist sentiment. The election of a Republican did not precipitate a crisis in Augusta County. Constitutional Unionists did not lose hope of national reconciliation until Lincoln's Proclamation of April 15 calling for 75,000 troops to coerce the Confederate States. At first, Democrats in Augusta accepted the election results. As the permanency of the Confederacy became apparent, and the South lost representation in the Federal Government, Democrats came to believe that the loss of constitutional protections warranted secession.

Both parties proposed compromise solutions, made increasingly greater concessions to the Deep South, and became exasperated with Republican intransigence. The *Spectator* refused to give up, but Democratic editor Yost finally encouraged citizens to prepare for war. Meanwhile, two of Augusta County's most prominent sons waged a valiant, and futile, effort to prevent secession. After years of denouncing southern extremists, Augustans realized with horror that the Deep South's withdrawal made it increasingly difficult for Virginia to remain in the Union.

¹¹⁶*Staunton Spectator*, October 9, 1860, October 23, 1860; *Staunton Vindicator*, October 19, 1860.

¹¹⁷*Staunton Vindicator*, October 26, 1860; *Staunton Spectator*, October 30, 1860.

¹¹⁸*Staunton Spectator*, November 6, 1860; Appendix, Tables 12 and 13.

After Lincoln's victory, ex-Whig Richard Mauzy reiterated the protections afforded by the constitutional system of checks and balances, reminding readers that the Deep South now posed the greatest danger to the Union. Sketching a scenario all-too-familiar to nervous readers, Mauzy rued possible secession, for if the states of the Deep South "will secede when we have a safe majority and there can be no danger, that we may be left in a minority where danger will threaten, in a confident belief that we will then secede and unite our fortunes with theirs." Defiantly, he added, "Virginia has interests independent of the Cotton States, and she should take care of them in spite of the action of those States."¹¹⁹

"R.", in a letter to the editor of the *Spectator*, acknowledged the past benefits of the Union and asserted, "Virginia loves the Union, and since Lincoln is elected by the people. . . she feels it her duty not to resist his inauguration or administration, as this strikes at the foundation of our government, so long as that administration . . . does not infringe upon the rights of the several States." Virginia, "R." continued, held the "balance of power" between secessionists and Unionists. "It becomes Virginia . . . to take the lead in every possible manner for saving the Union. I love the South—but I love the Union more."¹²⁰ These sentiments, reflecting long-expressed beliefs about the nature of the federal Union and Virginia's role in the United States, remained the position of both Democrats and Whigs in Augusta for the rest of 1860.

While the *Spectator* stressed Republican moderation, and claimed to have "more friends in the North than we have in the whole South," Democratic editor S. M. Yost hurled insults at South Carolina, the state most likely to secede. "Determined upon an insane, suicidal, illogical, and doubtful experiment, South Carolina inaugurates once again her darling project of Secession and Disunion." Like "R.", Yost hoped that Virginia "by calm, deliberate, sagacious counsel and action [might] stay the coming storm."¹²¹

On November 26, Augustans held another Union meeting at a crowded court house which resolved against calling a convention to address Lincoln's election. Alexander H. H. Stuart presided over the meeting and John Brown Baldwin made another powerful speech against a convention and in support of resolutions appealing to the Deep South to join Virginia "in testing the efficiency of remedies provided by the Constitution and within the Union." Democrats favored calling a convention, but they were outvoted by the Constitutional Unionists.¹²²

As the Deep South moved toward secession, Yost rejected another Southern Convention because such a meeting "ignores the fact that we are part of the whole Confederacy, as well North as South." Instead, the editor of the *Vindicator* suggested a three-part plan. First, he proposed calling a national convention to cure "sectional diseases." If that failed, he suggested a border state convention designed to set forth terms—including the prohibition of the slave trade—upon which those states might join the Deep South. Finally, if the "Cotton States" rejected that proposal, Yost favored the "formation of a Border State

Confederacy, including North Carolina and Georgia."¹²³

Like his neighbor at the *Spectator*, Yost feared that the Deep South would "hitch on and drag" the border states from the Union. How, Yost demanded to know, could the Cotton States "break up, without sufficient cause, this, the greatest and best government the world has ever seen?" Yost's planned Border State Confederacy would have one overriding purpose: that of "warring against the fanaticism and reckless insanity of both the extreme North and South."¹²⁴

Mauzy continued to denounce any "Constitutional right to secession" and he censured President James Buchanan's year-end address because the lame duck Democrat did not assert the Federal Government's right to coerce South Carolina if it left the Union. Mauzy quickly added that Buchanan should also say he "did not think it *expedient* to exercise that right." Instead, a national convention of the states should be called, at which three-quarters could release the Palmetto state from the federal Union. The *Vindicator* disagreed, calling the United States "a voluntary compact of the people [which could never] be held together by physical force."¹²⁵

As South Carolina convened its secession convention in December 1860, Augusta County readers devoured eyewitness accounts from one of their state assemblymen, John Marshall McCue, who conveyed the tense atmosphere in Columbia, where residents' "politeness is put to the test in having to listen to opposite views." As the Convention enacted secession resolutions, McCue described "the picture of the great and immortal Washington just above [the rostrum] *frowning* down upon the actors in this scene of *Disunion*.... The awful future ... 'tis hid in mercy from our eyes."¹²⁶

As the year drew to a close, the foreboding atmosphere in Augusta County, as well as the depth of citizens' fears for the continued viability of their political heritage, was captured by "C. M. B." in the *Spectator*. "I am," he stated, "a Southern man, true to the core, but honestly believe wrongs have been committed by both North and South.... This fair fabric [of our national heritage] is to be rent asunder and 'all our pleasant places' which our fathers looked upon 'laid waste' and to become a by-word to the nations of the world—all, all to gratify the wishes of fanatics of North and South."¹²⁷

The new year found the Virginia General Assembly debating resolutions to call a Convention to address the state of the country, and to discuss what action, if any, Virginia should take. Believing the Convention to be a prelude to secession, the *Spectator* opposed the meeting, and insisted on reserving the right of the people to vote upon its resolutions. "The mystic Convention veil," Mauzy cried, "is made to conceal the features of the monstrous 'mokanna' of secession." Nevertheless, when the legislature passed the resolutions, the

¹²³*Staunton Vindicator*, November 23, 1860.

¹²⁴*Staunton Vindicator*, November 30, 1860.

¹²⁵*Staunton Spectator*, December 11, 1860, January 15, 1861. *Staunton Vindicator*, January 11, 1861.

¹²⁶John Marshall McCue to S.M. Yost, December 12, 1860, in *Staunton Vindicator*, December 21, 1860; McCue to Richard Mauzy, December 20, 1860, in *Staunton Spectator*, December 25, 1860.

¹²⁷*Staunton Spectator*, December 25, 1860. "Mokanna" refers to the Hawaiian fruit mokiha, a sweet-tasting temptor.

¹¹⁹*Staunton Spectator*, November 13, 1860. For the argument that Lincoln's election caused an increase in secessionist sentiment in the Upper South, see Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates*, pp. xvii, 90-103.

¹²⁰*Staunton Spectator*, November 13, 1860.

¹²¹*Staunton Vindicator*, November 16, 1860.

¹²²Charles Curry, *John Brown Baldwin: Lawyer, Soldier, Statesman* (Staunton, Virginia: Charles Curry, 1928), p. 7.

Spectator pressed hard for the election of Unionist candidates and for reference of the Convention's action to a vote by the people.¹²⁸

Amidst the calls for a Convention, Augusta's Democratic organ reached the final step in a long journey toward secession. The Compromise of 1850 had shaken Democrats' faith in Northerners willingness to uphold odious laws; Bleeding Kansas further revealed the extent of abolitionism in the North; and the reaction of the masses to John Brown convinced Augusta Democrats that Northerners were "rotten to the core." Now, left with a tiny minority in the Congress, facing a hostile and stubborn cabinet, exasperated at failed attempts to reach a settlement, and influenced by increasingly secessionist rhetoric in parts of the Upper South, S. M. Yost greeted the new year with a more militant attitude.

Reiterating his belief that the United States offered "the most perfect system of government the world has ever seen," Yost said that the people of the North had begun to disregard southern rights with the conviction "that *they* are right and everybody else is wrong." The defeat of the Democracy "has sounded the death knell of the Confederacy. With Virginia and the South our destiny is cast." In the now evil North, "license has been given to extreme fanaticism, and the edict has gone out that henceforth it is a *war of sections*. The temper and tone of the . . . Black Republican party in the United States Senate, have clearly indicated to the country that there will be no concession there." Although Yost still clung to idea of a Border state confederacy, his rhetoric became increasingly secessionist.¹²⁹

After crowding "as closely as herrings in a barrel" into the Staunton court house to hear the candidates on January 28, the voters distributed 87 percent of their votes between Unionist candidates state Senator Alexander H. H. Stuart, John B. Baldwin, and Douglas Democrat George Baylor. Newly converted states rights advocates William H. Harman, a former Douglas supporter, and John D. Imboden, an ex-Whig who backed Bell and Everett and had represented Augusta County in the legislature on the American ticket from 1855-1857, were badly beaten. Ninety-three percent of the voters cast their ballots for reference of the Convention's actions to a popular vote. Yost recognized that his candidates, Imboden and Harman, "were voted against by hundreds who believed their election would be equivalent to a declaration of war, and might cause pestilence and famine."¹³⁰

As the Virginia Convention prepared to meet in Richmond on February 13, S. M. Yost prophesied darkly: "We believe that in the march of events the people of Augusta will discover in less than sixty days that the best way to preserve the peace of this country, and the only way to bring back the states that have gone, is to *demand* a recognition of our rights, and let the North know that we will take nothing less." He added, "We, as Virginians, will have the satisfaction to know that we have left no means untried to bring about an adjustment."¹³¹

On January 19, Virginia had invited the states to convene a Peace Conference in Washington on February 4. Amidst these national negotiations, Baldwin and Stuart headed to Richmond prepared to wage their greatest battles for the Union they had fought so consistently to preserve. Even in Augusta County, an occasional expression of disunion

appeared. "Augusta" wrote to the *Vindicator* on February 8, snarling, "Before I bend my knee to Lincoln and Seward, and their Virginia cohorts, I will see this land run in rivers of blood."¹³²

Although the Unionists held a solid majority in the Convention, secessionists led by ex-Governor Henry A. Wise remained a vocal faction. Like the rest of the nation, the Convention adopted a "wait-and-see" attitude, following the proceedings of the Washington Peace Conference and anticipating Lincoln's March Inaugural Address. A Committee on Federal Relations was formed and, after Stuart declined to serve on it, Baldwin became a leading member. Both men searched for a solution amenable to the Border States, and both put faith in the ability and desire of the northern Republicans to compromise.¹³³

In Augusta County, "An Old Subscriber" expressed his belief that the Republicans would arrive at a compromise "on the subject of slavery" and hoped that an agreement would eventually lead the departed states back into the Union. Richard Mauzy, undoubtedly in close contact with both Stuart and Baldwin, now reserved kind sentiments for William Seward, praising the New Yorker's "predilection for a moderate and conciliatory policy." The *Spectator* began a three-week campaign designed to show that "The Chief Object" of the Founding Fathers had been to provide for a strong "government which would be able to preserve the Union."¹³⁴

With Lincoln's Inaugural Address—"a plain, bold, gross, and ruffianly declaration to plunge the country into Civil War," said Yost—the *Vindicator* could point to the new President's coercive intentions. Averring that Lincoln's rhetoric meant the end of constitutional protections, Yost dropped any remaining vestiges of Unionism and told readers: "We must either identify ourselves with the North or the South. The question of Union or Disunion is dead and buried. Dissolution has already taken place, and whether the people of Virginia can realize it or not, it is certainly so." Sectionalism finally triumphed among Augusta's "states rights" Democrats.¹³⁵

The *Spectator* gave Lincoln the same advice it had doled out to Buchanan: call a convention of the states and release the Deep South from the Union by a three-fourths vote. At the same time, Mauzy admitted, "We regret that the President did not express a desire to be relieved of his obligations."¹³⁶

Within a week of the Inauguration, John Baldwin reported the recommendations of the Convention's Committee on Federal Relations. The Committee resolved to recognize the Confederate states' right of secession, expressed its desire for time to attempt to reach a compromise with the Lincoln Administration, and deplored all actions designed to precipitate a border state withdrawal. Repeating demands made earlier by the *Vindicator*, the report called for a border state convention.¹³⁷

¹³²For a description of the Peace Conference, see Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates*, pp. 208-213; Robert Gray Gunderson, *Old Gentlemen's Convention: The Washington Peace Conference of 1861* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961).

¹³³Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates*, is based upon this premise. See pp. 215-307.

¹³⁴*Staunton Spectator*, February 26, 1861.

¹³⁵*Staunton Vindicator*, March 15, 1861, March 22, 1861.

¹³⁶*Staunton Spectator*, March 12, 1861.

¹³⁷*Staunton Spectator*, March 19, 1861.

¹²⁸*Staunton Spectator*, January 15, 1861.

¹²⁹*Staunton Vindicator*, January 4, 1861.

¹³⁰Appendix, Tables 14 and 15; *Staunton Vindicator*, February 8, 1861.

¹³¹*Ibid.*

S. M. Yost had clearly had enough. The representatives of the North, he reminded readers, "spurned the Crittendon Amendments," "kicked the Border State proposal out of doors," "spit upon the report of the Committee of 33," and "strangled the Peace Conference abortion." Appealing to the masculine honor of his readers' home state, Yost declared: "Still Virginia is running around from post to pillar endeavoring to hatch up some seductive bait by which she may be allowed to cringingly beg the consideration of her oppressors. Is it not shameful that our beloved State is made to assume such a degraded, cowardly, and humiliating position?"¹³⁸

The *Spectator*, for so long an ardent activist for the national Union, made a final plea on April 2, 1861. Wrote Richard Mauzy, it is "really in the interests of the Border Slave States to maintain their present relations with the Free States on our border, and with the whole Union if possible, we have therefrom a difference between our condition and that of the Gulf States. We have interests in the Union that are paramount—interests that the Cotton States have not; and that therefore we should not rashly imperil them through any fancied identity of interests with the States that have left us."¹³⁹

In Richmond, Stuart and Baldwin, along with Kanawha County's George W. Summers, formed the nucleus of Unionist leadership within the Virginia Convention. These men recognized that their plan for a Border State Convention depended upon Republican cooperation and guarantees not to fortify federal troops at Fort Sumter, in Charleston, South Carolina, and Fort Pickins, in Pensacola, Florida. On April 1, Lincoln's Secretary of State, and the leader of the conciliatory Republicans, William Henry Seward, telegraphed to the Unionist leaders in Richmond, asking for support from the Virginians in his efforts to convince Lincoln not to resupply the Forts.¹⁴⁰

Lincoln, acting on Seward's urgent counsel, dispatched Virginia-born lawyer Allan B. Magruder to bring back to Washington, if not George Summers, "some Union man in whom he has confidence." On April 3, the inner circle of Virginia Unionists selected John B. Baldwin to present their case to the President. Shrouded in secrecy, Baldwin and Magruder took the night train to Washington.¹⁴¹

Arriving in the national Capitol the next morning, Baldwin was hurried to Seward's home, and the Secretary accompanied him to the White House. Lincoln greeted Baldwin with the chilling statement, "I am afraid you have arrived too late," and proceeded to ask, "Why do you not adjourn the Virginia Convention?" Baldwin replied that the Convention was "in the hands of Union men; we have in it a clear and controlling majority of three to one; [we can prevent secession] if you will uphold our hands by a conservative policy here." If the Convention adjourned, Baldwin told the President, secessionists might gain the upper hand in any future assembly.¹⁴²

¹³⁸*Staunton Vindicator*, March 22, 1861.

¹³⁹*Staunton Spectator*, April 2, 1861.

¹⁴⁰Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates*, p. 301. Seward's efforts on behalf of national preservation are convincingly detailed throughout the book. For his Virginia connections, see Richard G. Lowe, "The Republican Party in Ante-Bellum Virginia, 1856-1860," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXI (July, 1973), pp. 259. For a less charitable opinion of Seward, see Kenneth M. Stampp, *And the War Came: The North and the Secession Crisis, 1860-61* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950).

¹⁴¹John B. Baldwin, *Interview Between President Lincoln and Col. John B. Baldwin, April 4th, 1861: Statements and Evidence* (Staunton, Virginia: Spectator Job Office, 1866), p. 1().

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 11.

Lincoln then listened to Baldwin's suggestions for averting a civil war. Never before, the eloquent lawyer later recalled, had he made "a speech on behalf of a client in jeopardy of his life, with such earnest solemnity and endeavor." Not veering from the policies advocated by his crony at the *Staunton Spectator*, Baldwin advised Lincoln to state his intention to uphold the Constitution "without regard to party or section"; reject the right of secession but grant the Confederacy *de facto* recognition; call a national convention of the states; and withdraw federal troops from Forts Sumter and Pickins. If Lincoln followed these steps, Baldwin pleaded, he would discover "there is national feeling enough in the seceded States themselves and all over the country to rally to your support." When Lincoln protested, Baldwin continued, "For every one of your friends who you would lose . . . you would gain ten who would rally to you and to the national standard of peace and Union."¹⁴³

Baldwin addressed the condition of Fort Sumter and the temperament of South Carolinians. No doubt informed by his friend John M. McCue, Baldwin advised Lincoln that South Carolina sought a pretext for a fight. "They are," he said, "asserting a right." The Augusta County Unionist left Lincoln with the warning that if shots were fired in Charleston Harbor, "from whichever side, Virginia herself will be out in forty-eight hours. If there is a gun fired at Sumter, this thing is gone." As Lincoln ushered him out, Baldwin told the President that by his actions future generations of Americans would remember him as the "savior of your country," or the man who allowed the "overthrow of the best government that God ever allowed to exist."¹⁴⁴

Soon after Baldwin's return to Richmond, Augusta County's other Unionist leader, Alexander H. H. Stuart, headed for Washington as part of an official three-member delegation from the Virginia Convention. This group intended to seek solid reassurances from Lincoln that he would not attack the South. A massive rain storm washed out roads and delayed Stuart's arrival until April 12. Meeting the next day with Lincoln, the Virginia delegation listened to the President tell them that "an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter . . . I shall . . . repel force by force."¹⁴⁵

Stuart urged Lincoln to reconsider and suggested that Lincoln "find it no longer expedient to hold Fort Sumter," as it was only for local defense. Even after the interview, as the delegates rushed back to Richmond, Stuart did not construe Lincoln's words as the precursor to a "general war." The next day, the Richmond papers printed Lincoln's Proclamation calling for 75,000 troops to, Virginians believed, coerce the seceded states.¹⁴⁶

The *Staunton Spectator* responded to the news of the attack at Fort Sumter with a sense of betrayal. "After all his declarations in favor of peace, President Lincoln has taken a course calculated inevitably to provoke a collision, and to unite the whole South in armed resistance." Democrats' warnings had become a reality. After decades of participation in a political culture that posited devotion to legal protections, Lincoln's action shocked Augusta County residents. One can only imagine the numbness with which they read the news of impending violence. In this context, faced with an action they believed violated the individual liberty they held so dear, Augustans reacted with near unanimity.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁵Alexander F. Robertson, *Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart, 1807-1891* (Richmond: William Bird Press, Inc., 1925), p. 186.; Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates*, pp. 312-313.

¹⁴⁶Robertson, *Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart*, p. 191

A postscript to the *Spectator* edition announcing the fighting at Fort Sumter, clearly added only after the call for troops, frantically reported, "P.S. A dispatch has just been received from Col. George Baylor . . . stating that Lincoln has called out 70,000 militia. Where from? For what? The Colonel wishes to know what the people here think. There is but one sentiment—every man is ready to take up arms. Intense excitement prevails in the community."¹⁴⁷

John B. Baldwin wept when he realized that the Virginia Convention would vote for secession; Alexander H. H. Stuart refused to believe that Lincoln had called for troops to attack the South; and, in Augusta County, farmer Billy Beard wished "Virginia had left the South alone and staid [sic] in the Union." On April 17, 1861, the Virginia Convention voted 88-55 for an ordinance of secession from the federal Union. Baldwin and Stuart voted against the ordinance while George Baylor supported it. On May 23, Augusta County voters ratified the action of the Convention by casting an overwhelming 3130 ballots for secession to 10 against. "There are now," wrote a somber Baldwin, "no Union men in Virginia."¹⁴⁸

The massive turnaround in Augusta's vote reflects the shattering of its citizens' political culture. Lincoln's Proclamation, although not openly declaring that Virginia would be invaded in the process of national re-unification, held out the specter of an unsanctioned territorial incursion. The fact that voters took this possibility seriously demonstrates the degree to which they had lost faith in the elements of their political culture that gave it its national breadth. Augustans believed that the Proclamation ignored constitutional guarantees against such an invasion. Furthermore, because there was no danger of physical compulsion by the South, Lincoln's action represented a northern disavowal, highly sectional in its nature, of the tenets upon which Augusta County envisioned its participation in the American Union.¹⁴⁹

Reading the rhetoric of the editorials of Augusta County's two major newspapers between 1850 and 1861, one cannot avoid the notion that the county never should have seceded. Leaders of both political parties believed that participation in the federal Union was in the best cultural, economic, and political interests of their county. Average citizens immersed themselves in a culture steeped in such a heritage. Only after the Union as they saw it ceased, with the acquiescence of an entire section- of the country, to exist did they advise secession. As John D. Imboden, a former Whig and Bell supporter, wrote in January, 1861: "The Union has been destroyed by the withdrawal of several States, and the Constitution has been trampled underfoot by a majority of those which remain."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷*Staunton Spectator*, April 16, 1861.

¹⁴⁸Curry, *John Brown Baldwin*, p. 11; Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates*, p. 314; Mary A. Smiley to Thomas M. Smiley, May 23, 1861, in Smiley Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia; records on the Ratification of the Ordinance of Secession, Virginia State Library Archives.

¹⁴⁹See above, p. 2, for a listing of these tenets.

¹⁵⁰From a letter written by Imboden delineating his views as a candidate for the Convention of 1861, in *Staunton Vindicator*, January 18, 1861.

Conclusion

Only by viewing Unionist rhetoric through a nationalistic lens can an understanding of Unionism make sense. Nationalism, as discussed earlier in this essay, is an appeal to common historic memories and "symbols and rituals or common collective practices which alone give a palpable reality to the otherwise imagined community." It is this imagined community, and Augusta's political culture, that deserves attention here. What was, in the final analysis, Augusta County's imagined community?

What it was not, and what Unionism was not, was a sectional or regional entity. Throughout the period, national news played a prominent role not only in editorials but also in news stories and vignettes. It is of no small importance that such Northerners as Daniel Webster and Lewis Cass received praise and extensive coverage from both papers while John C. Calhoun, William Yancey, and other southern radicals were castigated and little-mentioned. This reflects not only the favor shown to politicians who strove to achieve sectional compromise, but also the breadth of the "imagined community." The United States Senate received as much coverage as the Virginia House-of Delegates or the Augusta County court day. The average newspaper reader became well-acquainted with events in California, Kansas, and North Carolina.

To people who participated in several patriotic rituals each year, America meant what they said it meant. As a correspondent once told Richard Mauzy, "Ever since I came to know anything about American history, the War of the Revolution, American Independence, the Federal Government, or the glorious Union of our States, I have been a *Union man*." As this paper has shown, the American flag, the Founding Fathers, and the sacrifices of a common heritage were palpable realities to the people of Augusta County. The patriots of Boston received the same veneration as the "Father of his country."

The disintegration of Augusta's political culture, assaulted by the withdrawal of the Deep South from the Union and mocked by the remaining states, explains the county's nearly unanimous vote for secession. The people of Augusta County, among the last antebellum American nationalists, believed that the compact which their parents and grandparents made with the other states of the federal Union had been broken. Their imagined community lay in shambles. To twentieth-century readers, there is an irrational aspect to this decision. But viewed through the eyes of people devoted to a concept they consistently read and wrote about, practiced and participated in, the decision was hardly a decision at all.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹It should be noted that over five hundred fewer voters turned out for the May election than had gone to the polls in February. The May turnout was seven hundred fewer than the November, 1860, election. See Appendix, Table 11. ,

WHY THE REAPER TOOK SO LONG TO DEVELOP

by
Michael Strickler

A variety of factors stalled the widespread diffusion of the reaper to farms, but the shift in the wheat production market was the factor that allowed the reaper to break through and become one of the biggest reasons that the West became the wheat belt. Although the reaper was invented in 1831, it was not mass produced or widely demanded until after 1850. The reaper has been hailed by many agriculturalists as the most radical and time-saving invention to affect wheat farming. If the reaper really was the important invention that it has been called, then why did it take over twenty years for it to catch on? While many factors stalled the development of the reaper, such as the need for the invention of the reaper, finding a market, raising capital for production, getting farmers to buy, and the importance of mass production and distribution, the most important factor was the importance of the shift in wheat production to the West.

Cyrus McCormick is often given credit for the invention of the reaper. This statement is not entirely true. In fact, Cyrus McCormick only improved a design started by his father, Robert McCormick. But his father did not "invent" anything either. He borrowed his ideas from inventor-farmers in the United States and Great Britain.

The most important question is not who, but why? The reaper was a machine that was just waiting to be developed. The problem of being a wheat farmer is not really growing the wheat, but being able to harvest the wheat in the time that nature allots. All farmers had in the way of harvesting the grain (cutting the grain, separating it, and gathering it in a bundle) was a sickle. The average farmer could cut one-half to one acre of grain a day. Needless to say, this slow process limited the amount of grain that could be cut. Not surprisingly, the first to experiment with constructing machines to cut more grain and faster were farmers.

The very first patent ever issued for a reaper was issued to Joseph Boyce of Marlebone, England, in 1799.¹ This was not much like the reaper that would rise to fame, but the principle was the same: a machine with cutting blades operated by men or horses that would increase cutting acreage. News spread from farm to farm and soon many farmers in England and Scotland were constructing their own machines. Not just there, but farmers in the United States began to experiment with the idea of reaping machines. In fact, between 1799 to 1831, over twenty different types of reapers were invented or developed in the United States and Britain.² However, despite their differences, some had basic similarities, such as a shaft in the front, a wheel cutter to the side, and some pulled by a horse.³ Some were nothing more than cutting shears on a mount that had to be pushed.⁴ But the farmers in the United States were the ones who really took the reaper from an idea to a widely used farm tool.

¹William Hutchinson, Cyrus Hall McCormick: Seed Time, (New York: The Century Co., 1930), p. 57.

²Hutchinson, p. 58.

³Hutchinson, p. 58.

⁴Hutchinson, p. 58.

Robert Hutchinson wrote that:

The character of the farmer, the abundance of land, the scarcity of labor, coming of railroad and steam-boat, and the growth of cities, in some measure explain why the most significant agricultural inventions in modern times were made in the United States.⁵

It was the ingenuity of farmers in the United States that transformed the reaper into a workable idea. The first really significant work done on reapers was by Robert McCormick in 1816. He improved on an earlier design, and he constructed a horse-drawn reaper that could reap more and do so faster than other reapers.⁶ But Robert McCormick was not able to improve on his own design, and he left it to his son to develop.

In 1831, Cyrus McCormick "invented" the first practical reaper, while at the same time in Baltimore, Obed Hussey was working on a similar reaper.⁷ Both rushed to have a patent placed on them, but there were enough differences between the two so that both inventors would receive a patent. McCormick's reaper consisted of four essential elements that remained unchanged throughout the reaper's existence.⁸ It had a platform attached to a master wheel, a reciprocating blade attached to the master wheel, an adjustable horizontal wheel, and a separation divider.⁹ On the other hand, Hussey's machine more closely resembled a mower used for grasses as opposed to a machine used for wheat.¹⁰

Now that a practical reaper had been invented, the question was what to do with it. Obed Hussey decided that his first course of action was to produce the reaper, so that he could make money. But the average farmer was not in a position to start producing machinery. Like any other invention that was going to be produced, he needed financial backing, and a firm to manufacture. Since he had a patent and McCormick was not taking orders for his reaper, he felt he could get a jump on the market, and received financial backing from Jarvis Reynolds of Cincinnati.¹¹ But he was to learn that people would not buy if people did not understand a product. Demonstrations would be necessary.

McCormick knew the importance of a demonstration. As early as 1833, farmers were writing in to the *Farmer's Register* to tell other farmers about McCormick's reaper: A large crowd of citizens were present at the trial of it, and although the machine (it being the first) was not as perfectly made as the plan is conceivable of, yet we believe it have general satisfaction.¹² In fact, many of the readers reported favorably on McCormick's reaper.¹³ Most of those farmers who reported favorably about McCormick's machine were farmers in the Valley. McCormick had tested his machine on the fields there and had adapted the machine to work well in the Valley, but if criticism were to come, it would come from farmers whose fields might react differently to the reaper. But even if the reaper was well received, it was not being used widely. McCormick and Hussey both faced many challenges that prevented the reaper from making real money until the 1850s.

⁵Hutchinson, p. 51.

⁶Hutchinson, p. 74.

⁷Hutchinson, p. 75.

⁸Ruben Thwaites, Cyrus Hall McCormick and the Reaper (Madison, Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1909), p. 240.

⁹Thwaites, p. 241.

¹⁰Hutchinson, p. 165.

¹¹Follet Greeno, Obed Hussey (New York, 1912), p. 10.

¹²"Reaping Machine," Farmer's Register, I (July 18, 1833), p. 301.

¹³*Farmer's Register*, p. 301.

The most common problem faced by inventors is getting the public not only to accept the invention, but to buy it. This was the first hurdle faced by the inventors of the reaper. Cyrus McCormick was one inventor who decided to demonstrate his reaper for the general public. In agricultural papers and journals, favorable reviews were given, but no one purchased a reaper.¹⁴ In 1833, McCormick placed advertisements in the *Lexington Union* that described what his reaper was capable of, and listed a sale price of \$50, but no one answered the ads.¹⁵ His luck continued in this way. As late as 1839, when McCormick held a demonstration in Staunton, Virginia, general reception was good, but again no one purchased a reaper.¹⁶ In fact, no farmer purchased a reaper from McCormick for a period of nine years. Farmers simply were not used to machinery on the farm.¹⁷ Farmers were still using the old scythe and sickle to harvest and depended on human labor, slave or hired man. McCormick had encountered the problem with new technology: it may impress people, but it may not sell. While farmers may have been impressed, some could not afford to buy a machine, especially if they did not understand it fully.

There were also other factors besides farmer uneasiness. In 1836, crop failures were rampant in wheat.¹⁸ It was these crop failures, lack of farmer enthusiasm, and financial panic that may have caused McCormick to lay off production of the reaper for a while.¹⁹ If the market did not favor wheat, then how could a farmer be expected to sink his money into a machine that performed only moderately well? McCormick felt that his reaper would not make him rich, and even conceded in his diary in 1845 that his reaper had been of little benefit so far.²⁰

Also important to remember was the area in which McCormick and Obed Hussey concentrated on for wheat. In the 1830s and early 1840s, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York were the wheat capital of the United States.²¹ And consequently Virginia became one of the battlegrounds for the reaper, as McCormick and Hussey have demonstrations and advertised. That is not to say that reapers were not made or used anywhere else, but that Virginia was the area concentrated on for over 16 years. This could be due to McCormick's residence there and Hussey's residence close to Virginia. From 1830 to 1842, a few farmers from New York to North Carolina "invented" their own reapers, but very few were ever built for sale, most being made for experimental purposes only.²² But the effects of the wheat crop failures forced wheat prices to go higher. By 1840, immigrants arriving from Europe and a few frustrated farmers in the East looked to go West, where they could get land cheaply and a new opportunity to farm.²³

¹⁴Hebert Casson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick: His Life and Work* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co. 1909), p. 54.

¹⁵Casson, p. 54.

¹⁶Casson, p. 57.

¹⁷Casson, p. 57.

¹⁸Hutchinson, p. 151.

¹⁹Hutchinson, p. 176.

²⁰Hutchinson, p. 176.

²¹Paul Gates, *The Economic History of the United States*. III (Canada: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960), p. 160.

²²Hutchinson, p. 158.

²³Hutchinson, p. 151.

Another problem faced by McCormick during these years was raising capital to produce reapers. The few that he had made in these years were made in his barn in Lexington, Virginia. He knew that they would have to be made somewhere else to be shipped to a market other than Virginia. He was not raising money by the sale of the reapers that he had.²⁴

Another problem that actually stalled the development of the reaper was the fierce competition by Hussey and McCormick. Farmers would only sink their money in a product that they felt was of the best quality, and the farmers were willing to wait out the fight before a majority of them would sink the little money they had into one. After its invention, Obed Hussey rushed to produce his reaper, and to start advertising it.²⁵ McCormick waited and this allowed Hussey to get the early jump. Hussey wasted no time, and tried to get people interested in the reaper anywhere wheat was grown. He had arranged for Cincinnati producers to introduce the reaper into Illinois as early as 1834.²⁶ However, Hussey was not ready to spread himself out so far, and quickly turned his attention to his home of Baltimore, Maryland. Hussey's business contacts and self-interest kept him in the East, where his reaper performed better than in the West.²⁷ McCormick on the other hand had not rushed into production. Since the few reapers he did have on the market did not sell, McCormick decided to focus on producing an iron furnace, and did not produce the reaper full-time until 1842, when he felt sufficient improvements had been made to its design that would sway farmers.

²⁸

At the same time, both men realized the importance of spreading out. After all, even if one reaper was able to sell better in one region, there were more regions out there. Obviously, Hussey and McCormick could not manufacture reapers and ship them to markets everywhere. Shipping charges would have added to the cost of the reaper for the farmer, not to mention the royalties on the patent. The average farmer could not afford such a cost, and therefore the venture would help no one. The solution was found in contract manufacturing. Hussey may have been premature in his bid to spread out, but time for word to spread, increasing farmer interest, and improved design favored McCormick after 1845. Prior to 1843, Hussey's reaper had been considered the best.²⁹ But gradually, things were shifting McCormick's way. He had branched out to Brockport, Rochester, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati.³⁰ From 1837 to 1847, Hussey and McCormick fought it out for reaper supremacy through field trials and editorials in the newspapers.³¹ The farmers in the meantime were awaiting to see which one would win. Farmers were not swayed by favoritism, and they were not about to sink their money into a loser.³² McCormick would win, and his courses of action would determine the fate of the reaper.

The first problem faced by McCormick that would actually help make the reaper economically feasible in the long run, was the renewal of a patent. Hussey was not a man to take rejection of his reaper very well. If he could not have the reaper market, then he was not

²⁴Casson, p. 55.

²⁵Hutchinson, p. 176.

²⁶Hutchinson, p. 165.

²⁷Hutchinson, p. 166.

²⁸Hutchinson, p. 166.

²⁹Hutchinson, p. 159.

³⁰Hutchinson, p. 250.

³¹Hutchinson, p. 175.

³²Hutchinson, p. 175.

about to have farmers pay royalties to McCormick for an idea he regarded as his anyway. McCormick's original patent expired in 1848, and so did Hussey's.³³ Hussey applied for a renewal, but was turned down. He then set his sights on McCormick. Hussey's platform was that it would be in the best public interest to stop these royalty payments.³⁴ To add clout to his argument, Hussey got backing from over 100 farmers in New York, who felt that McCormick had already made enough money.³⁵ Despite McCormick's claim that he had only turned a profit for a year, the patent renewal was refused. Without a royalty charge, the reaper's cost had to be reduced, which benefited the farmers and ironically benefited McCormick. Hussey still did not give up so easily. As late as 1854, Hussey had over 450 farmers in Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and North Carolina ready to demand that his patent be renewed.³⁶ But it was too late for Hussey, as McCormick had become the principal supplier of the reaper.

Cyrus McCormick was the man who put the reaper into widespread use once he found the right market and a means of improving production and distribution. Up until this point, the reaper had been an invention that had been used in the East. The East was already a very developed region, in that new wheat fields did not spring up, and there were no real influxes of new farmers. By the mid 1840s, most immigrants were settling in the new Mid-West states of Ohio and Illinois. The market was shifting, and it would be in these states where the reaper would be able to take advantage of new, eager farmers with a lot of land to farm.

The shift from Eastern farming to Western farming was the single greatest factor that enabled Cyrus McCormick to turn the reaper into a widely used farm tool. If the market had stayed in the East, it would have been very likely that McCormick would have faced the same problems year after year. But the situation in the West changed all of that.

In the 1830's, the sale of land in the Western states was rapidly increasing. The land was cheap, and most of it was subject to little or no tax.³⁷ Not only was the land cheap, but it was also very fertile, and not subject to the variety of diseases that plagued the East.³⁸ The problems that faced the East made the West seem attractive to wheat farming.

For years, states like New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania had been the leaders in wheat production. In these states, the production of wheat encompassed 12 to 16 percent of total agricultural output for the states.³⁹ While wheat was not the biggest agricultural crop in the United States, it was becoming important because of crop failures in Europe. However, even in these states crop failures occurred. From the 1820s until the 1840s, farmers in New York battled the midge, Black Stem rust, and other problems.⁴⁰ But even though they were eventually able to combat some of the rust by planting early, the damage was taking a toll; the soil was exhausted and farmers were beginning to switch over to grasses for cattle raising or other purposes.⁴¹ This condition was not only happening all over the East: declining

fertility, parasites, falling prices, and low yields. Also important to the East in this time was the population. A high population in the East forced farmers to have smaller farms. If a farmer had constantly used his land for one crop, which was failing, and he did not have much land, the risk of failure would be great.⁴² Many farmers were not willing to take that risk. The hope for the future of wheat came in the form of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin.

The West had everything a wheat farmer could want. It had cheap land, very few developed areas, great soil, practically no pests or parasites to speak of, and a growing transportation center that was cheaper and easier to use than any in the East. In fact, the appeal of the West as a transportation center was one reason Ohio helped New York give up on wheat farming.⁴³ As farms in the West began to develop, farms in the East declined as the shift from East to West took place mainly from 1839 to 1859. That twenty year period is critical because at the time the West was growing, so was the use of the reaper. The states that the reaper was being used in the most were the states that would lead the United States in wheat production after McCormick built his factory in Chicago.

The shift from East to West is easily illustrated by the wheat yield for the wheat producing states. In 1839, New York had produced 12,286 bushels of wheat, but by 1859, the yield was down to 8,681.⁴⁴ The drastic drop is evident, but of the former Eastern leading wheat producers, only Virginia and Pennsylvania were able to sustain their wheat producing abilities, but were not able to radically increase.⁴⁵ Virginia only increased its yield by 3,000 bushels in twenty years. On the other hand, the Western states were able to increase production at a rapid pace. In 1839, Illinois went from a yield of 3,335 bushels to 23,837 in 1859.⁴⁷ In the same period, Indiana went from a yield of 4,049 bushels to 16,848.⁴⁸ In an even more impressive jump, Wisconsin did not even begin wheat production until the late 1840's, but by 1859 had a yield of 15,657 bushels.⁴⁹ The increase in wheat production was staggering. Over a period of twenty years, the production of wheat not only shifted to the West, but did so in dramatic fashion. Overall, wheat production for this period increased 72% with almost all of it coming from the Mississippi Valley.⁵⁰

The West was the new market for McCormick. As early as 1844, agricultural journals described the Mississippi Valley as the future home of the reaper.⁵¹ This situation was because the West had the right mixture of ingredients for the reaper. It had new labor, better land for the machine, and more acreage. McCormick was very aware of this, as any good businessman would be. From 1846 to 1848, McCormick's sales of the reaper declined in the East, while sales activity increased in the West.⁵² But what also helped in the appeal of the West was the lack of appeal of the East. The reaper was designed as a labor saving

³³Clara Judson, *Reaper Man: The Story of Cyrus Hall McCormick* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948), p. 103.

³⁴Judson, p. 103.

³⁵Thwaites, p. 247.

³⁶Greeno, p. 33.

³⁷Gates, p. 160.

³⁸Gates, p. 160.

³⁹Gates, p. 160.

⁴⁰Gates, p. 164.

⁴¹Gates, p. 164.

⁴²Percy Bidwell and John Falconer. *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States*. (New York: Peter Smith, 1941), p. 263.

⁴³Gates, p. 160.

⁴⁴Gates, p. 160.

⁴⁵Gates, p. 160.

⁴⁶Gates, p. 160.

⁴⁷Gates, p. 160.

⁴⁸Gates, p. 160.

⁴⁹Gates, p. 160.

⁵⁰Gates, p. 167.

⁵¹Hutchinson, p. 203.

⁵²Hutchinson, p. 234.

device. However, in the late 1840's, when the East was suffering from a surplus of labor, workers naturally did not want any contraption interfering with their employment chances.⁵³ Also, the Eastern farmers may have sensed that the future of wheat was in the West. In the late 1840's, farmers in the East started to switch over to grasses instead of wheat, and McCormick realized that his money would be best invested in a western market.⁵⁴

Things were going well for McCormick in the West. There were many things working in his favor. For one thing, the terrain in the West was much better suited to the reaper.⁵⁵ The prairies of the West were very flat. McCormick's reaper had encountered problems with rocks and hills while being tested in the East. Time also helped McCormick. When the West was starting to catch on to the idea of a reaper, the wheat market had become extremely profitable. Famine in Ireland, as well as other parts of Europe, forced people to journey to the United States, particularly the West, where they saw an opportunity to farm and make money.⁵⁶ This famine caused a huge demand for U.S. wheat.⁵⁷ Now that it had become clear that the West was the wheat center, its output and profitability depended on the reaper.

A wheat farmer could only sell as much wheat as he could harvest. If he could harvest a great deal, without spending much on labor, he could turn a great profit. But a farmer could only harvest in a limited amount of time. As long as the farmer was hampered with hand tools, he could not overplant. The whole idea of wheat farming in the West was profit. If a farmer could plant more and harvest more, without having a high labor cost, the profit would be high. This is where McCormick and the reaper stepped in. In 1847, agricultural journals actually pushed the idea of the reaper on farmers, hailing it as the ultimate labor saving device.⁵⁸ The idea was not a point that farmers ignored. Over the years, the cost of labor had risen, and farmers may have looked to the reaper as not only a help, but as a sound financial investment.⁵⁹ The California Gold Rush of 1849 also helped the reaper's promotion, as the Rush sharply decreased the number of farm laborers in the West, and farm owners turned to the reaper for help.⁶⁰ In fact, the reaper's introduction on a wide scale was probably the greatest factor to help the acreage of wheat increase.⁶¹ Large crops of wheat could not have been harvested without the help of the reaper.⁶² One Indiana farmer noted that farm hands were always scarce around harvest, and machines were depended upon.⁶³

Farmers helped themselves, as well as the spread of the use of the reaper, by purchasing the reaper jointly.⁶⁴ Most of the land in the West that was just starting out in wheat

⁵³Casson, p. 58.

⁵⁴Hutchinson, p. 251.

⁵⁵Alan Olmstead, "The Mechanization of Reaping and Mowing in American Agriculture 1833-70," *Journal of Economic History* vol 35 (June, 1975), p. 331.

⁵⁶Hutchinson, p. 204.

⁵⁷Susan Lee and Peter Passell, *A New Economic View of American History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1981), p. 141.

⁵⁸Hutchinson, p. 245.

⁵⁹Lee and Passell, p. 145.

⁶⁰Casson, p. 82.

⁶¹Gates, p. 166.

⁶²Gates, p. 166.

⁶³Gates, p. 165.

⁶⁴Olmstead, p. 329.

Index to Death Notices in Staunton Spectator 1877

Anne C. Kidd

Most death notices found in these four-page weekly newspapers are on pages 2 and 3. All places without county or state designations were located in Augusta County, Virginia. Papers were published on Tuesday.

Name of Deceased Person	Date of Death	Place of Death	Date of Paper
Abney, Wm. A., Capt.	12 Mar 1877	nr Greenville	20 Mar 1877
Achord, Phillip	last week	Augusta County	23 Oct 1877
Ackerman, Mary J., Mrs.	5 Oct 1877	Staunton	9 Oct 1877
Adams, Willie	23 Aug 1877	Halifax County	11 Sep 1877
Akers, Adam	Friday a week	nr Shawsville, Montgomery Co.	17 Apr 1877
Akers, daughter of Calvin	Sunday last	nr Wytheville, Withe Co.	27 Feb 1877
Alexander, Ann Eliza	14 Jan 1877	Greenbrier County, WV	23 Jan 1877
Allegre, W.S., Mr.	Tuesday last	Richmond, VA	20 Feb 1877
Allen, James	1810	Augusta County	6 Nov 1877
Anderson, Wm.	last Tuesday	nr Colliertown, Rockbridge Co.	3 Jul 1877
Arehart, Mrs., twin of Mrs. Brenner	one month ago		12 Jun 1877
Armentrout, Colby	24 Feb 1877	Charlestown, WV	6 Mar 1877
Armstrong, E. J., Col.	yesterday	Rawley, Rockingham Co. (from Old Commonwealth of 2nd)	7 Aug 1877
Ash, F. M., Mr.	Sunday	Staunton	11 Sep 1877
Bailey, Mary, Mrs.	28 Dec 1876	nr Hebron Church	9 Jan 1877
Baker, Mary S., Mrs.	13 Apr 1877	Lexington, Rockbridge Co.	24 Apr 1877
Baldwin, Chas. C. C., Cadet	8 Aug 1877	Rockbridge Co.	21 Aug 1877
Baldwin, John Hopkins	Wednesday	Baltimore, MD	8 May 1877
Baldwin, Joseph	30 Sep 1864	California	29 May 1877
Bangs, George S., Hon.	17 Nov 1877	Chicago, IL	27 Nov 1877
Bare, Holmes Boyd	19 Jan 1877	Mt. Crawford, Rockingham Co.	30 Jan 1877
Barley, Jno.	1 Jun 1877	Winchester, VA	5 Jun 1877
Barry, Basil, Rev.	2 Sep 1877	Baltimore, MD	11 Sep 1877
Bear, Jacob, Col.	27 Feb 1877	nr Conrad's Store, R'ham Co.	6 Mar 1877
Beard, George W.	30 Dec 1876	nr Hebron Church	9 Jan 1877
Belcher, John, Capt.	10 Nov 1877	Rockbridge Co.	20 Nov 1877
Bell, James	2 Feb 1877	on Long Glade	27 Feb 1877
Bell, Wm. A., Col.	22 Oct 1877	Augusta Co.	30 Oct 1877
Benson, J. Alexander	23 Feb 1877	nr Bell's Valley, Rockbridge Co.	13 Mar 1877
Berry, R.T., Rev.	Friday last	Winchester, VA	6 Nov 1877
Berryhill, Sarah C., Mrs.	11 Apr 1877	Charlotte, NC	24 Apr & 1 May 1877
Bickle, Janey	Mon last week		27 Feb 1877
Bird, Julia A., Mrs.	29 Nov 1877	nr Green Hill, Highland Co.	11 Dec 1877
Birdsong, son of William	Friday week	Petersburg, VA	6 Mar 1877
Blaiser, infant	Mon last week	Dayton, KY	23 Jan 1877
Blaiser, Minnie, Mrs.	Mon last week	Dayton, KY	23 Jan 1877

Bledsoe, Albert T.	8 Dec 1877	Alexandria, VA	11 Dec 1877
Bogus, John	last Thursday	Botetourt Co.	20 Nov 1877
Bolden, Wright, colored	last Wednesday	Staunton	14 Aug 1877
Bonds, Reuben	last Thursday	McGaheysville, Rockingham Co.	3 & 10 Jul 1877
Bosserman, Frederick	4 Apr 1877	nr Mint Spring	10 Apr 1877
Bottrell, Geo.	last Thursday	Richmond, VA	29 May 1877
Bowler, _____	6 Nov 1877		13 Nov 1877
Bowling, John	13 Sep 1877	nr Verona Depot	18 Sep 1877
Bowyer, Jno.	28 Dec 1876	Monroe, Co., WV	9 Jan 1877
Brenner, Elizabeth, Mrs.	Sun a week	nr Timberville, Rockingham Co.	12 Jun 1877
Briggs, Charles H., Dr.	Friday	Mathews Co.	16 Jan 1877
Bright, Ann R.	21 Dec 1876	Richmond, VA	2 Jan 1877
Bright, M. A., Mr.	9 Jun 1877	Staunton	19 Jun 1877
Brock, Kesiah, Mrs.	8 Feb 1877	nr Timberville, Rockingham Co.	20 Feb 1877
Brockenbrough, Jno. W., Judge	Mon last week	Lexington, VA	27 Feb 1877
Brown, Matilda, Mrs.	Sunday last	Charleston, WV	6 Nov 1877
Brown, Robt. T.	Wednesday	Charlestown, WV	20 Mar 1877
Brown, Willie Houston	18 Mar 1877	nr West View	1 May 1877
Bruin, Sidney	7 Feb 1877	Spring Hill	13 Feb 1877
Brumback, Jno.	12 Jan 1877	Page Co., VA	23 Jan 1877
Bryan, Hanson	last Tuesday	Abingdon, VA	27 Nov 1877
Bumgardner, Bettie Waddell	30 Jul 1877		7 Aug 1877
Bumgardner, Linda	Sunday	Staunton	21 Aug 1877
Bumgardner, Mary Mildred	21 Jul 1877	Augusta Co.	31 Jul 1877
Bunyon, American, Miss	Tuesday last	Logan, WV	8 May 1877
Burham, Alfred, Rev.	24 Mar 1877	Newtown, VA	1 May 1877
Burke, Margaret Helena	13 Aug 1877		21 Aug 1877
Burkholder, Simon K.	Sat week	New York City	10 Apr 1877
Burton, Jno. P.	11 May 1877	Richmond, VA	15 May 1877
Bush, Mittie	Sunday last	nr Staunton	4 Dec 1877
Byrd, Otway	Tuesday	Winchester, VA	17 Apr 1877
Carmody, Johnny	6 Sep 1877	Staunton	18 Sep 1877
Carrington, Eliza H., Mrs.	11 Jan 1877	Chalottesville, VA	16 Jan 1877
Carroll, Sarah, Mrs.	5 Jun 1877	Lynchburg, VA	26 Jun 1877
Carson, Rose, Mrs.	24 Mar 1877	Baltimore, MD	27 Mar 1877
Cart, Crawford	Tuesday week	nr Little Sandy, WV	21 Aug 1877
Cash, Cassandra, Mrs.	6 Mar 1877	res. of Mr. G. W. Bowers	3 Apr 1877
Cashman, Morris	29 Aug 1877	Staunton	4 Sep 1877
Cawley, Berry, Mr.	Mon last week	Summers Co., WV	17 Apr 1877
Chamberlayne, Edward P.	Wednesday	on Midland railroad nr Madison Run Station, VA	3 Apr 1877
Chamblin, A. Rush	last week	Loudoun Co.	9 Jan 1877
Chapman, Milton	Mon last week	Cave Spring, Roanoke Co.	13 Feb. 1877
Chitlow, Thomas	few weeks ago	nr Harrisonburg, VA	11 Dec 1877
Chitlow, Thomas, Mrs.	since then		11 Dec 1877
Christian, Susie Eastland	19 Sep 1877	Fulton, AR	11 Sep 1877
Clark, Cornelia J.	25 May 1877	nr Colliersville, Rockbridge Co.	5 Jun 1877
Clark, Johnson, Mrs.	15 Dec 1877	Winchester, VA	25 Dec 1877
Clark, Pleasant M.	25 Mar 1877	Mt. Crawford, Rockingham Co.	27 Mar 1877

Clem, William Johnston	3 Mar 1877	Shenandoah Co.	13 Mar 1877
Cockran, Alexander B., Hon.	Monday	Staunton	3 & 10 July & 18 Dec 1877
Collins, Edward	29 Dec 1876	nr Salt Sulphur Springs, WV	16 Jan 1877
Collins, Richard J., Maj.	23 Dec 1876	Alexandria, VA	2 & 9 Jan 1877
Cone, S. C., Mrs.	20 Sep 1877	Staunton	25 Sep 1877
Conrad, David Holmes	22 Apr 1877	Martinsburg, WV	1 May 1877
Cook, David	10 Jul 1877	nr West View	17 Jul 1877
Cooke, Robert L.	last Saturday	Fire Island bar, Long Island	14 & 21 Aug 1877
Coperage, John	Saturday week	nr Lynchburg, VA	4 Dec 1877
Cowardin, Jas. P.	last Tuesday	Richmond, VA	23 Oct 1877
Cox, Jacob	31 Oct 1877	nr Old Providence Church	6 Nov 1877
Cox, James H., Judge	18 Feb 1877	Clover Hill, Chesterfield Co.	27 Feb 1877
Cox, William F.	last Tuesday	nr Covington, Alleghany Co.	12 Jun 1877
Crabill, David	last Thursday	New Market Depot, Shenandoah Co.	30 Oct 1877
Craven, James	latter pt Aug	northern part of Texas	18 Sep 1877
Cravens, Benjamin	20 Jan 1877	nr Goose Creek, Loudoun Co.	30 Jan 1877
Crawford, Alexander	20 Aug 1877	nr Crawford Springs, VA	28 Aug 1877
Crawford, Benj., Dr.	17 Oct 1877	Seguin, TX	23 Oct 1877
Crawford, Bettie B.	28 Feb 1877	Baltimore, MD	13 Mar 1877
Crawford, Preston	a few days since	Botetourt Co.	15 May 1877
Creigh, Thomas, Dr.	last Wednesday	Hinton, Summers Co., WV	21 Aug 1877
Crockett, Elizabeth Estill, Mrs.	12 Jan 1877	Glen Brook, nr Wytheville, VA	23 Jan 1877
Crockett, Robert, Dr.	Sun last week	Wytheville, VA	20 Feb 1877
Crone, child of Sarah Jane	22 Feb 1877	on Long Glade	13 Mar 1877
Cunningham, daughter of Philip	Friday last	Charleston, WV	13 Nov 1877
Cunningham, Nathan	Friday week	Middle Fork of Pocahontas R. Jackson Co., WV	21 Aug 1877
Cupp, M. E., Mrs.	18 Feb 1877	Staunton	20 Feb 1877
Cutshaw, wife of Col. W. E.	Thursday	Richmond, VA	9 Jan 1877
Dadisman, Reuben	15 Apr 1877	Page Co.	24 Apr 1877
Dakin, Jacob, Capt.	Tuesday last	Botetourt Co.	6 Feb 1877
Daniel, Raleigh T., Hon.	last Thursday	Richmond, VA	21 Aug 1877
Danner, Jacob S.	14 Apr 1877	Middletown, Frederick Co.	1 May 1877
Davenport, Henry, colored	last Wednesday	Staunton	11 Dec 1877
Davenport, "Uncle Davey," colored	last Sat.	Staunton	3 Jul 1877
Davidson, Jonnie	last Thursday	Dublin, Pulaski Co.	27 Feb 1877
Davis, Elvira	last Wednesday	Staunton	5 Jun 1877
Davis, Samuel Wilson	8 May 1877	Illinois	12 Jun 1877
Davis, William	7 May 1877	Staunton	15 May & 12 Jun 1877
Dedrick, Henry, Father	10 Feb 1877	Sherando	20 Feb 1877
Dempster, Jno. J., Capt.	Wednesday week	nr Greenville	12 Jun 1877
Dennison, Mrs.	last Tuesday week	Roanoke, Co.,	23 Oct 1877
Devine, Margaret	17 Apr 1877	Staunton	24 Apr 1877
Dillworth, James	Wednesday	Jonesboro', TN	15 May 1877
Dinkle, Emma F.	14 Dec 1877	nr Mt. Solon	25 Dec 1877
Donald, A. J., Mr.	13 Jan 1877	nr Donaldsburg, Rockbridge Co.	23 Jan 1877
Doniphan, A., Rev.	last week	Keysville, Mecklenburg Co.	27 Feb 1877
Dooley, Miss	Isat Tuesday week	Roanoke Co.	23 Oct 1877

Doom, Fannie L.	12 Oct 1877	nr Staunton	6 Nov 1877
Dorman, Elizabeth C., Mrs.	27 Jan 1877	nr Keezletown, Rockingham Co.	6 Feb 1877
Dorsey, Wm. F.	Mon last week	Hanover Junction, Hanover Co.	1 May 1877
Downer, W.S., Major	Wednesday	Huntington, WV	15 May 1877
Doyle, M.A., Mrs.	28 Jan 1877	nr Greenville	6 Feb 1877
Driver, Jacob, Rev.	Tuesday last week	Rockingham Co.	4 Dec 1877
Duncan, Addison	Friday last	west of Harrisonburg, VA	12 Jun 1877
Duncan, Jas. A., Rev.	24 Sep 1877	Ashland, VA	25 Sep & 2 Oct 1877
Earhart, A.C.	last week	Washington Co.	25 Dec 1877
Early, Wm. T., Mrs.	1 Jul 1877	Charlottesville, VA	10 Jul 1877
Easton, Wm., Mrs.	Thursday last	nr Gordonsville, VA	17 Apr 1877
Ebright, Henry	Wednesday	nr Freeport, Gloucester Co.	10 Apr 1877
Effinger, M. Harvey	17 Aug 1877	White Sulphur Springs, WV	21 & 28 Aug & 18 Sep 1877
Eiler, David	20 May 1877	nr Taylor's Springs, Rockingham Co.	29 May 1877
Elder, Mary, Mrs.	last Tuesday	Fredericksburg, VA	11 Dec 1877
English, Elizabeth D.	15 Dec 1876	Verulam, Albemarle Co.	2 Jan 1877
Estis, J. H., Dr.	Fri week	Pittsylvania Co.	6 Mar 1877
Ettinger, Adam, Rev		York, PA	6 Nov 1877
Evans, Miss	Mon last week	on Jackson R., Alleghany Co.	16 Jan 1877
Everett, C.D., Dr.	Mon last week	nr Keswick, Albemarle Co.	6 Feb 1877
Ewing, J.D., Rev.	11 Jan 1877	nr Fancy Hill, Rockbridge Co.	23 Jan 1877
Fahnestock, Wm.	2 May 1877	nr Winchester, Va	15 May 1877
Ferguson, Roberta	Saturday last	nr Paris, Fauquier Co.	24 Jul 1877
Ferguson, Zulu	5 Aug 1877	Middlebrook	14 Aug 1877
Figgatt, Jno. T.	last Wednesday	Lexington, VA	30 Jan 1877
Finley, Emma F.	4 Oct 1877	nr Holly Springs, MS	16 Oct 1877
Fishburn, Elizabeth, Mrs.	16 Jan 1877	Livingston Co., IL	6 Feb 1877
Fitzgerald, Nancy, Mrs.	1 Sep 1877	Staunton	4 Sep 1877
Forrest, Nathan Bedford, Gen	Mon last week	Memphis, TN	6 Nov 1877
Fox, John		Highland Co.	23 Jan 1877
Freeman, John Henry, Captain	28 Nov 1877	Virginia	4 Dec 1877
Frey, Joseph	3 Nov 1877	nr Mt. Sidney	27 Nov 1877
Friday, Jno. M., Rev.	Friday	nr Harper's Ferry, VA	5 & 12 Jun & July 1877
Gaines, Robt. B.	17 Apr 1877	Harrisoburg, VA	24 Apr 1877
Gallaher, John S., Hon.	5 Feb 1877	Washington, DC	13 Feb 1877
Gardner, William	Wednesday	nr Odenton, Anne Arundel Co., MD	11 Sep 1877
Garrett, Elizabeth, Mrs.	17 Jul 1877	Baltimore, MD	214 Jul 1877
Gentry, Charles, Mrs.	last Monday	nr Liberty Mills, Orange Co.	25 Dec 1877
Gibbons, Abel	27 May 1877	Mt. Solon	5 Jun 1877
Gibson, Wm. Eustice	4 Nov 1877	Culpeper, VA	13 Nov 1877
Giles, Robert Lee	9 Jan 1877	Middlebrook	23 Jan 1877
Gilkeson, Rebecca, Mrs.	23 Jan 1877	nr Swoope's Depot	10 Jul 1877
Glass, Robert, Col.	7 Nov 1877	Frederick Co.	20 Nov 1877
Gordon, James L., Gen.	Mon last week	Louisa Co.	11 Dec 1877

Gordon, John W.	Feb 1877	nr Deerfield	27 Feb 1877
Grattan, Louisa Noland	14 Nov 1877	Staunton	27 Nov 1877
Gray, Rebecca, Mrs.	Mon last week	nr Fincastle, VA	18 Dec 1877
Gregory, Margaret, Mrs.	10 Dec 1877	Staunton	11 Dec 1877
Griffith, Aaron H.	8 Feb 1877	nr Winchester, VA	20 Feb 1877
Grigsby, J. Warren, Gen.	15 Jan 1877	Danville, KY	23 Jan 1877
Grove, Howard	Sunday	Staunton	10 Apr 1877
Grove, Howard F.	11 Mar 1877	Orange Co., FL	13 & 27 Mar 1877
Guy, Nannie P., Mrs.	18 Feb 1877	Staunton	20 Feb 1877
Hague, Margaret, Mrs.	7 Oct 1877	Staunton	9 Oct 1877
Halleck, Mr.	Tuesday	Chesterfield Co.	20 Mar 1877
Haller, Jacob, Dr.	Sun last week	Wytheville, VA	6 Feb 1877
Hamilton, E.S., Mrs.	a few days since	Loudoun Co.	16 Jan 1877
Hammak, Rev. Mr.	1 Mar 1877	nr Stribling Springs	13 Mar 1877
Hamner, James	Saturday week	Glendower, Albemarle Co.	13 Mar 1877
Hampton, Preston	Oct 1864	nw of Petersburg, VA	5 Jun 1877
Handy, Samuel	21 Feb 1877	Canton, MS	20 Mar 1877
Hanger, Harriet, Mrs.	2 Jul 1877	nr Churchville	17 Jul 1877
Hankins, Wm., Rev.	recently	nr Starry Creek, Franklin Co.	24 Apr 1877
Hanwinckel, Frederick William	Saturday	Richmond, VA	30 Jan 1877
Harden, son of Jim, colored	23 Jul 1877	Folly Mills	31 Jul 1877
Harding, James A., Dr.	14 Feb 1877	Crabbottom Mills, Highland Co.	27 Feb 1877
Harlan, S.G., Dr.		Stephens Co., TX	3 Apr 1877
Harman, M.G., Col.	Sunday	on train nr Richmond, VA	18 Dec 1877
Harper, Joseph	wk before last	nr Raleigh Court House, WV	18 Dec 1877
Harper, Rachel, Mrs.	17 May 1877	Rockbridge Co.	5 Jun 1877
Harris, Frank Willard	3 Feb 1877	nr Spring Port, Henry Co., IN	6 Mar 1877
Harris, Harriet, Mrs.	Sunday last	Covesville, Albemarle Co.	23 Oct 1877
Harris, Susan, Mrs.	21 Aug 1877	Rockfish Valley, Nelson Co.	28 Aug 1877
Harrison, George M.	yesterday	Staunton	3 Jul 1877
Harrison, Julian	last Tuesday	Richmond, VA	24 Jul 1877
Hart, William D.	21 Dec 1876	Albemarle Co.	2 Jan 1877
Harvey, Marcellus	19 Aug 1877	Lowesville, Nelson Co.	28 Aug 1877
Hatcher, Samuel E.	Tuesday	nr Richmond, VA	2 Jan 1877
Haun, Sarah, Mrs.	13 Aug 1877	nr Woodstock, VA	28 Aug 1877
Hawkins, Mrs.	last week	Augusta County	23 Oct 1877
Hawkins, John	Mon last week	West Virginia	18 Dec 1877
Hawpe, Ida C.	15 Nov 1877	nr Greenville	4 Dec 1877
Hawpe, Jonnie (son of Ida)	14 Nov 1877	nr Greenville	4 Dec 1877
Hawpe, Wm.	Sun last week	nr Greenville	1 May 1877
Haynes, Thomas W., Capt.	4 Nov 1877	nr Ayletts, King William Co.	13 Nov 1877
Hays, Geo. W.	last Tuesday	Hanover Co.	22 May 1877
Heatwole, dau of widow of Henry G.	Mon last week	nr New Erection, Rockingham Co	10 Apr 1877
Henkel, Fannie M., Mrs.	4 Dec 1877	Waynesboro, VA	18 Dec 1877
Henson, Roderic	Sunday week	nr Scott's Depot, VA	18 Sep 1877
Henton, Catharine, Mrs.	28 Jan 1877	nr Melrose, Rockingham Co.	6 Feb 1877
Hemdon, J. C., Dr.	last Tuesday	Fernandina, FL	23 Oct 1877
Herzog, Adolphus	Tuesday	Petersburg, VA	10 Nov 1877

Hibbard, Samuel	Mon last week	Richmond, VA	13 Feb 1877
Hiser/Hizer, David S.	4 Apr 1877	nr Petersburg, WV	10, 17 Apr & 8 May 1877
Hoffman, Andrew	last Wednesday	Edinburg, VA	23 Oct 1877
Hoffman, John S., Hon.	18 Nov 1877	Clarksburg, WV	27 Nov 1877
Hoge, Archibald Fauntleroy	Saturday	Staunton	31 Jul 1877
Holiday, Alexander R., Hon.	Mon last week	nr Richmond, VA	6 Feb 1877
Holly, Joel, Sr.	7 Jan 1877	nr Lewisburg, WV	16 Jan 1877
Holsapple, Henry	10 Mar 1877	nr Second Creek, Monroe Co., WV	27 Mar 1877
Hoover, Christina, Mrs.	5 Dec 1877	nr Seven Fountains, Shenandoah Co.	11 Dec 1877
Hoover, Ida M.	10 Mar 1877	nr State Line, MD	3 Apr 1877
Hoover, Sadie Fultz	Saturday 1st	Staunton	28 Aug 1877
Hopkins, James D.	last Friday	Staunton	31 Jul 1877
Horner, John W., Hon.	28 Aug 1877	Parkersburg, WV	25 Sep 1877
Houff, Ellen	17 Apr 1877	Staunton	24 Apr 1877
Hoult, E. W., Mrs.	16 Jan 1877	Goshen, Rockbridge Co.	30 Jan 1877
Houser, Peter	21 Nov 1877	nr Greenville	4 Dec 1877
Houston, M.H., Dr.	26 Feb 1877	Ashland, VA	6 Mar 1877
Hover, son of Wm. B.		Shenandoah Co.	17 Apr 1877
Howell, William	30 Aug 1877	nr Spring Hill	4 Sep 1877
Hoy, Isaac	23 Apr 1877	nr Mt. Meridan	8 May 1877
Huddleton, Lucy, Mrs.	week ago	Chesterfield Co.	13 Mar 1877
Hughes, Elijah	Mon last week	Albemarle Co.	29 May 1877
Hullihen, Mrs., mother of Rev. W. O.	5 Dec 1877	Staunton	11 Dec 1877
Hupman, David	3 Apr 1877	nr Staunton	10 Apr 1877
Hupman, Diana Mrs., wife of David	27 Mar 1877	nr Staunton	3 Apr 1877
Irick, Andrew B.		Harrisonburg, VA	4 Dec 1877
Irvine, James	16 May 1877	Harrisonburg, VA	29 May 1877
Jackson, John J., Gen.	Mon last week	Parkersburg, WV	9 Jan 1877
James, John Quarles	Tuesday 1st		4 Dec 1877
James, W. H., Dr., native of Loudoun Co.		New Guinea	20 Feb 1877
Johnson, John A.	21 Mar 1877	nr Fishersville	17 Apr 1877
Johnson, Joseph, ex-Gov.	last Tuesday	Bridgeport, Harrison Co., WV	6 Mar 1877
Johnson, Sherman, colored	Saturday week	Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, VA	17 Apr 1877
Johnson, Thomas, colored	28 Apr 1877	nr Staunton	8 May 1877
Johnston, Chas. M.	Wednesday 1st	Western Division of C & O RR	11 Dec 1877
Jones, child of John	Saturday week	nr Rappahannock Station, VA	18 Dec 1877
Jones, Mitchell Winston	last Wednesday	Richmond, VA	13 Mar 1877
Jones, Mumford, Col.	recently	Caton, MS	7 Aug 1877
Jordan, William, Mrs.	24 Mar 1877	Mt. Solon	27 Mar 1877
Joyes, Michael	1 Jan 1877	Portsmouth, VA	9 Jan 1877
Judd, Daniel, Srt.	Sun last week	Page Co.	24 Apr 1877
Kane, Charley, colored			16 Jan 1877
Kasterson, Jeremiah	8 Sep 1877	Mint Spring	18 Dec 1877
Kayser, James B.	12 Sep 1877	nr Dagger Springs, Botetourt Co.	18 Sep 1877

Kearney, Margaret, Mrs.	13 Apr 1877	Harrisonburg, VA	24 Apr 1877
Keller, son of Lewis	Wednesday week	Edinburg, VA	13 Nov 1877
Keller, Mary Ann, Mrs.	12 Mar 1877	Charlottesville, VA	27 Mar 1877
Keller, Toliver R.	16 Apr 1877	nr Churchville	24 Apr 1877
Kemp, James H.	Saturday last	Page Co.	16 Oct 1877
Kennedy, Barbara A., Mrs.	6 Jun 1877	Walker's Creek, Rockbridge Co.	19 Jun 1877
Kennedy, Bridget A.	23 Dec 1876	Staunton	2 Jan 1877
Keran, John H.	29 Mar 1877	Rockingham Co.	3 Apr 1877
Kerr, David	20 Nov 1877	nr New Hope	27 Nov 1877
Kerr, Elizabeth H., Mrs.	1 Feb 1877	nr Fishersville	13 Feb 1877
Kerr, Rebecca C., Mrs.	19 Feb 1877	nr Pleasant Grove Church	27 Feb 1877
Killian, Alda J.	18 Mar 1877	Montevideo, Rockingham Co.	27 Mar 1877
Killian, Julia Ann, Mrs.		Augusta County	27 Nov 1877
Kirman, William	Thursday	Soldiers' Home at Hampton, VA	15 May 1877
Kite, Hiram, Mrs.	2 Apr 1877	Lafayette Co., MO	1 May 1877
Knuckles, Miss	last week	Louis(a) Co.	18 Sep 1877
Lambert, Harvey	27 Apr 1877	nr Greenville	1 May 1877
Lamp, Sarah, Mrs.	29 Apr 1877	Frederick Co.	15 May 1877
Lawson, David	2 yrs ago	Rockingham Co.	24 Apr 1877
Lawson, David G.	Mar 1875	Rockingham Co.	20 Feb & 4 Sep 1877
Lawson, Eve, Mrs.	23 Mar 1877	Rockingham Co.	17 Apr 1877
Layman, Barbara, Mrs.	28 Jan 1877	Fridley's Gap, Rockingham Co.	6 Feb 1877
Layne, J. M., Mr.	17 Feb 1877	nr Lisbon, Bedford Co.	27 Feb 1877
Lee, Edmund I.	last Friday	nr Shepherdstown, WV	21 Aug 1877
Leewood, W. W., Rev., colored	Mon last week	Harrisonburg, VA	20 Feb 1877
Leps, M J., Mrs.	12 Apr 1877	Greenbrier Co., WV	1 May 1877
Lewis, Chas.	Thursday last	nr Staunton	8 May 1877
Lewis, Robert W.	25 May 1877	Castalia, Albemarle Co.	5 Jun 1877
Lewis, Thomas	Wednesday last	nr Folly Mills	20 Mar 1877
Lightner, Annie Lee	6 Oct 1877	nr Greenville	23 Oct 1877
Linkenhoker, Martin K.	Fiday week	nr Fincastle, VA	18 Dec 1877
Linsford, Reuben	8 Jan 1877		16 Jan 1877
Little, Alexander	yesterday	White Sulphur Springs, WV	17 Jul 1877
Litton, Sallie, Mrs.	25 Jan 1877	nr Spring Hill	6 Feb 1877
Lockett, Joseph E.	Monday	Kanawha Falls, WV	25 Dec 1877
Lofland, Millard	10 Oct 1877	Staunton	16 Oct 1877
Lohr, George, Sr.	2 weeks ago	Plain Mills, VA	3 Jul 1877
Long, Francis J., Mrs.	23 Apr 1877	nr Good's Mill, Rockingham Co.	8 May 1877
Long, Judith, Mrs.	10 Jul 1877	nr Mt. Sidney	24 Jul 1877
Lyle, James, Mrs.	by 10 Dec	Mill Creek	18 Dec 1877
Lyle, Margaret A., Mrs.	11 Feb 1877	Rockbridge Co.	20 Feb 1877
Magill, Jno S.	8 Mar 1877	"The Meadows" nr Winchester, VA	20 Mar 1877
Mallory, Adam, colored	Tuesday	Hawk's Nest, WV	13 Nov 1877
Mann, Harriet F., Mrs.	2 May 1877	Staunton	12 Jun 1877
Manuel, Newton	13 Apr 1877	Hedgesville, WV	24 Apr 1877
Maphis, Philip	Sunday	Staunton	13 Mar 1877

Marshall, Samuel H.	9 Jan 1877	Headwaters, Highland Co.	23 Jan 1877	Neese, Henry H.	before 8 Dec	nr Afton, VA	11 Dec 1877
Martin, Chas.	22 Sep 1877		25 Sep 1877	Neff, Catharine	13 Jun 1877	nr Moscow	3 Jul 1877
Martin, Henry, negro	2 weeks since	Princess Anne Co.	24 Apr 1877	Neff, Noah	15 Sep 1877	nr Moscow	2 Oct 1877
Martin, Jas. J., Capt.	Sun last week	Rockbridge Co.	5 Jun 1877	Neff, Peter	Sun last week	nr Melrose, Rockingham Co.	12 Jun 1877
Martin, Robt. L.	31 May 1877	Chester, PA	12 Jun 1877	Newton, Paul	Thursday	Stafford Co.	8 May 1877
Martz, Jackson, Mrs.	5 Feb 1877	Tenth Legion, Rockingham Co.	13 Feb 1877	Nicholas, Henry	17 Nov 1877	Greenbrier Co.	27 Nov 1877
Marvin, Bishop			4 Dec 1877	Nichols, J. W.	recently	nr Redford's Ford, Franklin Co.	27 Mar 1877
Marx, Frederick, Dr.	Mon last week	Richmond, VA	16 Jan 1877	Niswander, Isaac	3 May 1877	Rockingham Co.	15 May 1877
Mathews, Lizzie, Mrs.	12 Dec 1876	Loudoun Co.	2 Jan 1877	Norman, Joseph B.	last week	Rappahannock Co.	28 Aug 1877
Maupin, Wm. A.	Mon last week	Baltimore, MD	10 Apr 1877				
Mayse, George	12 Jan 1877	Bath Co.	30 Jan 1877				
McChesney, A. G., Dr.	19 May 1877	Midway	29 May 1877	Oakey, Wm.	10 Feb 1877	Salem, Roanoke Co.	27 Feb 1877
McChesney, John, Dr.	Saturday	nr Newport	22 May 1877	O'Brien, Timothy	Tuesday last	nr Staunton	18 Dec 1877
McClanahan, Capt. a few years after close of war		his home TX	17 Apr 1877	Opie, Isabel, Mrs.	Friday last	Baltimore, MD	27 Feb 1877
McCloud, J. C.	last Saturday	Chesterfield Co.	9 Oct 1877	Orebauch, Jacob	Wednesday week	nr Mt. Jackson, VA	5 Jun 1877
McClung, Edmund	22 Mar 1877	Fairfield, Rockbridge Co.	3 Apr 1877	O'Rourke, Joseph	1 Aug 1877	nr Staunton	7 Aug 1877
McClung, William A., Capt	7 Feb 1877	Timber Ridge, Rockbridge Co.	6 Mar 1877				
McCue, Margaret Christian, Mrs.	19 Oct 1877	nr Mt. Solon	23 Oct & 6 Nov 1877	Padgett, Alfred	last Wednesday	Kernstown, VA	26 Jun 1877
McDonald, John	10 Sep 1877	from "Mt. Herald paper"	18 Sep 1877	Parker, Susan Virginia	13 Dec 1877	Staunton	18 Dec 1877
McDowell, Jas. J., Gen.	17 Jan 1877	Highland Co., Ohio	6 Feb 1877	Parr, Dixey	recently	Warrenton, VA	27 Mar 1877
McDowell, Joseph J., Gen.	17 Jan 1877	Hillsboro, Highland Co., OH	30 Jan 1877	Patrick, John C.	28 Jul 1877	Locust Hill	21 Aug 1877
McDowell, Margaret Moffett	1815	nr Versailles, Woodford Co., KY	6 Feb 1877	Patrick, Rebecca C.	8 Jul 1877	"Locust Isle" nr Waynesboro	17 Jul 1877
McDowell, Maria H., Mrs.	28 Nov 1876	Louisville, KY	2 Jan 1877	Patterson, Wm.	Mon last week	nr New Hope	27 Mar 1877
McIlhany, infant son of H.M. & M.C.	15 Apr 1877		24 Apr 1877	Patton, Mary	8 Mar 1877	Grace Furnance, Botetourt Co.	27 Mar 1877
McMann, child of Dr. E. A.	9 May 1877	Gap Mills, Monroe Co. WV	15 May 1877	Pearman, Zachariah F.	last Thursday	Richmond, VA	22 May 1877
Mercer, Hugh W., Gen.	9 Jun 1877	Baden, Germany	17 Jul 1877	Peck, Elizabeth, Mrs.			9 Oct 1877
Meyerhoeffer, Michael, Rev.	18 Apr 1833	nr Union Church, Madison Co.	24 Apr 1877	Pence, Mary S., Mrs.	4 Apr 1877	Montgomery Hall nr Staunton	10 Apr 1877
Michie, Henry Bowyer	8 Jul 1877	Goshen, Rockbridge Co.	17 Jul 1877	Pendleton, P. P., Mr.	last Sunday	Baltimore, MD	11 Dec 1877
Michie, Parmela, Mrs.	8 Mar 1877	Campbell Co.	27 Mar 1877	Perrow, Fannie A., Mrs.	11 Sep 1877		18 Sep 1877
Miller, Edward		Florida	6 Mar 1877	Phillips, Richard Henry, Jr.	23 Nov 1877	New York City	4 Dec 1877
Miller, George	11 Feb 1877	Harrisonburg, VA	20 Feb 1877	Phillips, Samuel Travers	27 Sep 1877	Staunton	2 Oct 1877
Miller, Godfrey S.	16 Mar 1877	Winchester, VA	27 Mar 1877	Pitzer, Henry C., Rev.	Thursday	Union, Monroe Co., WV	13 Feb & 13 Mar 1877
Miller, John	Sunday	Rappahannock Co.	2 Jan 1877				
Mills, Benj.	last week	Mercer Co., WV	30 Oct 1877	Plant, Fred.	21 Oct 1877	Jacksonville, FL	6 Nov 1877
Minor, John W., Colonel	Sunday	Goresville, VA	2 Jan 1877	Poague, John	Wednesday last	Oak Bank, Rockbridge Co.	18 Dec 1877
Mitchell, Mary Elton, Mrs.	20 Jan 1877	Lexington, VA	30 Jan 1877	Points, Fred. Latham	12 Feb 1877	Harrisonburg, VA	20 Feb 1877
Moffett, Hays	bur. 14 Mar 1877	residence of	24 Apr & 1 May 1877	Powers, Richard	22 Jan 1877	Lexington, VA	13 Feb 1877
		E. J. Wayland		Price, Michael	17 Mar 1877	Winchester, VA	27 Mar 1877
Mohler, Henry	21 Jan 1877	nr Rockbridge Baths, VA	30 Jan 1877	Pridemore, father of Hon. A. E.	Sun last week	Scott Co.	21 Aug 1877
Montgomery, James M.	Friday week	Coal Valley, Fayette Co., WV	30 Oct 1877	Prichard, Wm. H.	2 May 1877	Winchester, VA	15 May 1877
Montgomery, Margaret, Mrs.	31 Dec 1876	Meadows, Greenbrier Co.	6 Feb 1877				
Montgomery, Sarah, Mrs.	29 Oct 1877	nr Colliertown, Rockbridge Co.	13 Nov 1877	Rader, Doratha	24 Nov 1877	Rockingham Co.	4 Dec 1877
Moody, John M.	Sat week	nr Garysburg, NC	12 Jun 1877	Ralston, Henry	5 Mar 1877	Portland, OR	10 Apr 1877
Moody, Margie	2 Jul 1877	Tolersville, VA	10 Jul 1877	Ralston, Rainie, Mrs.	29 Sep 1877	Back Creek, Highland Co.	30 Oct 1877
Morris, John	Thursday	Fredricksburg, VA	20 Nov 1877	Ramsbottom, Isaac	15 Aug 1877	on Middle River	28 Aug 1877
Morrison, F. B., Mrs.	30 Dec 1877	nr Brownsburg, Rockbridge Co.	23 Jan 1877	Ramsdell, Mrs.	Wednesday	Petersburg, VA	13 Mar 1877
Mosby, John M.	last Wednesday	Staunton	31 Jul 1877	Read, Isaac, Dr.	16 Mar 1877	Charlotte Co.	27 Mar 1877
Munsey, Wm. E., Rev.	23 Oct 1877	Jonesboro, TN	23 Oct. & 6 Nov 1877	Reed, Jno.	29 Nov 1877	on East River, Mercer Co, WV	18 Dec 1877
Murphy, Geo. W., Col.	7 Dec 1877	nr Mt. Jackson, Shenandoah Co.	18 Dec 1877	Reeser, son of John	last Monday	Edinburg Mill, Sheandoah Co.	23 Oct 1877
Myers, Addiebell	25 Feb 1877	Miami, MO	6 Mar 1877	Reid, James J.	1 Jan 1877	nr Frankford, Greenbrier Co., WV	23 Jan 1877
Myers, Catharine, Mrs.	17 Oct 1877	Rockingham Co.	30 Oct 1877				

Reynolds, Catherine	2 Mar 1877	on Potts Creek, Alleghany Co.	13 Mar 1877
Rhodes, Frederick	Wednesday	Salem, Roanoke Co.	15 May 1877
Rice, Peachy, Mr.	13 Apr 1877	Harrisonburg, VA	24 Apr 1877
Richards, Willie	Fri last week	Front Royal, VA	13 Mar 1877
Richardson, Sarah, Mrs.	Sunday	Staunton	6 Feb 1877
Riley, L. B., Mr.	Wednesday	Albemarle Co.	13 Mar 1877
Ritchie, Wm. F.	last Tuesday	Lower Brandon on James River	1 May 1877
Rodeffer, Philip	28 Apr 1877	Shenandoah Co.	8 May 1877
Rodes, D. D.	21 Feb 1877	Fayette Co., WV	13 Feb 1877
Roland, Lewis, colored	Wednesday	Rockbridge Co.	10 Jul 1877
Roller, Peter, Mrs.	Tuesday last		10 Apr 1877
Roller, William	30 May 1877	nr New Market, VA	5 Jun 1877
Rose, L. B., Dr.	Tuesday last	Fredericksburg, VA	17 Apr 1877
Rowan, Ella C.	3 Aug 1877	Augusta Co.	14 Aug 1877
Ruchman, Margaret A., Mrs.	1 Apr 1877	res. of husband, Col. J. W.	1 May 1877
Ruchman, Phebe R.	14 Apr 1877	on Anthony's Creek, Greenbrier Co., WV	1 May 1877
Ruebush, Samuel		Rockingham Co.	2 Jan 1877
Ruff, Ellen Lambert	21 Jan 1877	nr Bell's Valley, Rockbridge Co.	30 Jan 1877
Ruhl, Julia	Saturday	nr Staunton	31 Jul 1877
Ryan, child of Mr. Amos	last week	Shenandoah Co.	15 May 1877
Saufley, Sarah, mrs.	10 Oct 1877	nr Cross Keys, Rockingham Co.	23 Oct 1877
Scanlon, Henry	last Sunday	nr Staunton	12 Jun 1877
Schaeffer, Levi	Sunday	nr Forest Station, Shenandoah Co.	30 Jan 1877
Schoolcraft, O. J., Mrs.	Mon last week	"Auburn" nr Richmond, VA	8 May 1877
Scott, Rebecca, Mrs.	8 Nov 1877	Collierstown Rockbridge Co.	11 Dec 1877
Scott, Thos. W., Jr.	Friday	between White Sulphur Springs & Alleghany Tunnel	10 Apr 1877
Scruggs, Augusta C., Mrs.	14 Jul 1877	Holly Springs, MS	31 Jul 1877
Seiver, James W.	12 Apr 1877	New Hampden, Highland County	24 Apr 1877
Schackelford, Belle (Kirk), Mrs.	20 Nov 1877	Danville, VA	27 Nov 1877
Shafer, Laura B.	Sunday	Staunton	31 Jul 1877
Shaver, John	29 Oct 1877	nr Kilbourne, Delaware Co., OH	25 Dec 1877
Shed, Uncle	29 Jan 1877	at Chesley Kinney's	6 Feb 1877
Sheets, Robert Theodore	9 May 1877	Rockingham Co.	29 May 1877
Shelton, Tobias	last week	Patrick Co.	25 Dec 1877
Shields, John Allan	18 Jan 1877	on South River nr Greenville	6 Feb 1877
Shields, Susan A., Mrs.	5 Mar 1877	nr Greeneville	13 Mar 1877
Shifflett, brother of Anderson	Monday last	nr Mt. Vernon Iron Works	9 Oct 1877
Shifflett, Anderson	25 Sep 1877	Harrisonburg, VA	2 Oct 1877
Shifflett, Bell B.	12 May 1877		7 Aug 1877
Shiflet, Sarah Julia	8 Nov 1876	nr Craigsville	2 Jan 1877
Shughrue, Timothy	Friday week	in Mechum's River, Albemarle Co.	1 May 1877
Shumate, Thomas	Thursday	nr Fisherville	11 Dec 1877
Simmons, child of Mr. Cal	Tuesday week	nr Moorefield, Hardy Co., WV	15 May 1877
Sipe, Maggie S.	21 Jun 1877	Monterey, VA	26 Jun 1877

Skinner, Clara W., Mrs.	26 Aug 1877	Staunton	23 Aug 1877
Slaughter, Chas. D.	Sun last week	Pittsylvania Co.	29 May 1877
Smith, daughter of Henrietta, colored	last Wednesday	Harrisonburg, VA	24 Jul 1877
Smith, Francis L., Mr.	Thursday	Alexandria, VA	15 May 1877
Smith, James, colored	last week	Rockbridge Co.	7 Aug 1877
Smith, Rosamond	12 Sep 1877	Staunton	18 Sep 1877
Smith, Thos.	last Friday	Madison Co.	26 Jun 1877
Snead, _____	Friday week	nr Staunton on farm of John C. Churchman	13 Nov 1877
Somerfield, male	few days ago	North Fork of Potomac, WV	24 Apr 1877
Spiller, Elliott		Hampden Sidney College	23 Jan 1877
Stark, Eve	26 Mar 1877	nr Forestville, Shenandoah Co.	3 Apr 1877
Starkey, Mary A., Mrs.	Thursday	Botetourt Co.	15 May 1877
Steele, Agnes J.	23 Jan 1877	Rockbridge Co.	30 Jan 1877
Steele, Isabella E., Mrs.	19 Feb 1877	Union, WV	6 Mar 1877
Steptoe, C. Y., Rev.	last Wednesday	Brandy Station, Culpeper Co.	25 Dec 1877
Stogdale, Walter	24 Nov 1877	nr Greenville	4 Dec 1877
Stover, Christopher	16 Mar 1877		2 Jan 1877
Strickler, Jane C., Mrs.	21 Dec 1876	Lynchburg, VA	16 Jan 1877
Swats, Clara J.	2 Oct 1877	nr Charlemont, Bedford Co.	23 Oct 1877
Swats, Gertrude C.	30 Oct 1877	nr Charemont, Bedford Co.	20 Nov 1877
Swink, Elizabeth	21 Feb 1877	nr Moscow	3 Apr 1877
Swink, Wm., Mrs., late Welch	buried 23 Mar 1877	3 miles east of Staunton	27 Mar 1877
Swope, Charlie	last day	2nd Manassas	24 Jul 1877
Taylor, Sarah, Mrs.	19 Apr 1877	Staunton	24 Apr 1877
Taylor, Susanna J., Mrs.	30 Jun 1877	Staunton	3 Jul 1877
Taylor, Wm.	22 Feb 1877	"Birchwood," Albemarle Co.	20 Feb 1877
Teaford, Jacob	18 Apr 1877	bur. Mt. Zion Churchyard	1 May 1877
Tebeau, Elizabeth J., Mrs.	9 Apr 1877	Gainesville, FL	24 Apr 1877
Templeton, Rachel, Mrs.	13 Mar 1877	Rockbridge Co.	27 Mar 1877
Terrell, Martha, Mrs.	25 Aug 1877	nr Staunton	4 Sep 1877
Terrill, James B., Gen.	1864	nr Richmond, VA	4 Dec 1877
Terrill, Julius	29 Aug 1877	nr Somerset, KY	18 Sep 1877
Terrill, Philip, Lieut.	Fall 1864	nr Winchester, VA	4 Dec 1877
Terrill, Richard	23 Sep 1877	Waynesboro	2 Oct 1877
Terrill, Wm. H., Col.	28 Nov 1877	Charlestown, Jefferson Co., WV	4 Dec 1877
Terrill, Wm. H., Gen.	1862	Perryville, KY	4 Dec 1877
Terrill, Wm. H., Mrs.	1 Feb 1877	Hinton, WV	6 Feb 1877
Thacker, Willie S.	3 Jan 1877	nr Staunton	30 Jan 1877
Thatcher, Evan, Sr.	Thursday week	nr Winchester	29 May 1877
Thomas, Richard A.	18 May 1877	nr Spartapolis, Rockingham Co.	29 May 1877
Thompson, Andrew, colored	14 Apr 187	res. of Dr. A. M. Hendel	24 Apr 1877
Thompson, John	Sunday	Rockingham Co. ?	20 Nov 1877
Thompson, Martha H.	21 Apr 1877	Culpeper, VA	1 May 1877
Tidlow, Thomas	Sunday	Rockingham Co. ?	20 Nov 1877
Todd, James	last Tuesday	"White Oak Lick" on North River	27 Nov 1877
Toler, Moses, negro	Thursday week	Charlottesville, VA	23 Jan 1877
Tolly, Mr. from Arnold's Valley	Last Thursday	Botetourt, Co.	20 Nov 1877

Trevillian, Gideon, Rev.	13 Jan 1877	Albemarle co.	30 Jan 1877	White, Jane, Mrs.	22 Nov 1877	nr Falling Spring.	4 Dec 1877
Tribby, Ellen Rebecca	31 Jan 1877	Harrisonburg, VA	13 Feb 1877	Whitlock, Samuel Tilden	16 Oct 1877	Greenbrier Co.	
Trimble, James, Capt.	1804	Highland Co., OH	6 Nov 1877	Wholey, Bridget, Mrs.	20 Sep 1877	nr Staunton	23 Oct 1877
Trimble, Jane (Allen), Mrs.	1839	Highland Co., OH	6 Nov 1877	Wilkins, Mary, mulatto	last Wednesday	Staunton	25 Sep 1877
Troxel, James	3 Feb 1877	nr Newport	13 Feb 1877	Willey, Eliza, Mrs.	12 Aug 1877	nr Warrenton, Fauquier Co.	10 Apr 1877
Turk, Eliza, Mrs.	28 Dec 1876	McDowell, VA	23 Jan 1877	Williams, e children of Hester Ann, colored	Thursday	Middletown, Frederick Co.	21 Aug 1877
Turner, John	12 Feb 1877	Linville, Rockingham Co.	20 Feb 1877	Williams, John	few days since	Tanner's Creek	20 & 27 Nov 1877
Tutwiler, W. D.	Friday week	nr Mt. Crawford, Rockingham Co.	31 Jul 1877	Willis, Wm. P.	Sunday	Crossroads, Norfolk Co.	
		Montgomery, AL	11 Dec 1877	Willson, Mathew	12 Feb 1804	nr Shepherds town, WV	21 Aug 1877
Tyler, Robert, Col.	Mon last week	8 miles up mt. from Sherando	4 Dec 1877	Wilson, J. Edgar, Mrs.	12 Mar 1877	Roanoke College	27 Mar 1877
Tyree, Mrs.	Friday			Winans, Ross		Augusta Co.	8 May 1877
		Raleigh Co., WV	29 May 1877	Wine, Margaret, Mrs.	17 inst 1877	Rockbridge Co.	27 Mar 1877
Underwood, Rufus				Winingder, Mollie E.	Sunday last	Baltimore, MD	17 Apr 1877
		Pittsylvania Co.	13 Mar 1877	Winter, Wm.	Saturday week	res of Thomas Calbreath	3 Apr 1877
Vaden, Robert W.	Sun last week	Richmond, VA	6 Feb 1877	Wise, Fannie, Mrs.	24 Jan 1877	nr Norfolk, VA	4 Dec 1877
Vaiden, Mrs.	Saturday	nr Tomahawk Station (where?)	16 Jan 1877	Withrow, Hazel, Mr.	2 Feb 1877	Piedmont, WV	24 Apr 1877
Valentine, John, colored	Sat a week ago	nr Warm Springs, Bath Co.	24 Apr 1877	Withrow, Mollie S., Mrs.	10 Oct 1877	Harrisonburg, Va.	6 Feb 1877
Vance, John	3 Jan 1877	Augusta Co.	23 Oct 1877	Wolfe, Carrie	5 Jul 1877	Fayette Co., WV	13 Feb 1877
Vance, John, Mrs.	last week	Dayton, Rockingham Co.	27 Mar 1877	Woltz, Ferdinand	Mon last week	Danville, KY	30 Oct 1877
Vanpelt, Ada Brown	17 Mar 1877	Portsmouth, OH	19 Jun 1877	Wood, James M.	1 Jun 1877	Hedgesville, WY	17 Jul 1877
Varner, Sampson E., Col.	Tuesday week	Dinwiddie Co.	9 Jan 1877	Wrenn, Robt. L.	14 Dec. 1877	Fredericksburg, VA	6 Nov 1877
Vaughn, tow sisters	recently	nr Craigsville	18 Dec 1877	Wright, Grace Christian	13 Feb 1877	Bath Co.	12 Jun 1877
Via, Maggie	before 10 Dec 1877	suburbs of Staunton	9 Jan 1877	Wright, Nathan	Sunday week	Ronceverte, WV	18 Dec 1877
Vines, Nelson	last Wednesday	Winchester, VA	11 Dec 1877	Wright, Russell, Mrs.	17 May 1877	Sistersville, WV	25 Dec 1877
Violet, Kate (Goss), Mrs.	Wednesday last			Wunder, Elizabeth, Mrs.	19 Jan 1877	Bridgewater, Rockingham Co.	29 May 1877
		Botetourt Co.	17 Apr 1877			Timberville, Rockingham Co.	30 Jan 1877
Wade, all 6 children of Henry Wade	recently	nr Craigsville	9 Jan & 6 Feb 1877	Yancey, Stephen D.		Pointe Coup_____, LA	6 Nov 1877
Wallace, Bettie	2 Jan 1877	nr Timberville,	12 Jan 1877	Young, Mahala, Mrs.	last week	Hinton, Summers Co., WV	1 May 1877
Walter, Mahala, Mrs.	Sat a week	Rockingham Co.		Yount, William I.	10 Apr 1877	"Woodlawn," Cumberland Co.	14 Aug 1877
		Montana Territory	18 Dec 1877				
Walters, B. F., Mr.	15 Sep 1877	nr Mt. Crawford,	13 Mar 1877				
Ward, Griffin S.	3 Mar 1877	Rockingham Co.					
		Stafford Co.	8 May 1877				
Washington, William Temple	20 Apr 1877	nr Natural Bridge,	16 Jan 1877				
Waskey, John	3 Dec 1877	Rockbridge Co.					
		South Boston, VA	21 Aug 1877				
Watson, G. W., Dr.	Mon last week	Barterbrook	13 Mar 1877				
Watson, Jonnie	25 Jan 1877	Roanoke Co.	8 May 1877				
Watts, William, Col.	Tuesday	Crabbottom Mills,	27 Feb 1877				
Waybright, son of Andrew J. & Susan	17 Feb 1877	Highland Co.					
		Amherst Co.	13 Feb 1877				
Wayland, Sarah Ann, Mrs.	22 Jan 1877	Staunton	11 Dec 1877				
Wayt, John	5 Dec 1877	Suffolk, VA	20 Feb 1877				
Wellons, W. B., Rev.	Friday	Winchester, VA	3 Apr 1877				
Welsh, Edard	12 Mar 1877	nr heald of Little River,	30 Jan 1877				
West, James M.	Tuesday	Floyd Co.					
		nr Dovesville,	27 Feb 1877				
Wetzel, child of Morgan	last week	Rockingham Co.					
		Staunton	3 Apr 1877				
Whisman, Daniel	28 Mar 1877	2nd Manassas	24 Jul 1877				
White, Hugh, Captain	last day						

An Election of 1793

by
Katherine G. Bushman

Since 1994 is an election year in Virginia, it is of interest to note the "poll" of an election held in Staunton on January 1, 1793. Four candidates were running for the position of two trustees for the "Town of Staunton". In the 18th century to be qualified as a voter, a man had to be a "free holder" or owner of land. The list of lot owners for 1792 in Staunton totalled 54. Of that number, 5 were women: Isabella Abney, Isabella Burns, Elizabeth Blair, Mrs. Griffin, & Euphemia Hughes. None of them had voting rights in the 18th century.

It was not until 1850 that the Constitutional Convention of Virginia gave every white male citizen the right to vote, but there was added a capitation tax with half of the revenue going to schools.¹ It will be noted that in 1793 every man's choice of trustee was recorded. It was not until 1867 when the Underwood Constitution went into effect, that Virginia had a written secret ballot instead of "voice-voting".² In 1793, each man voting in the election told the poll officials for whom he was casting his vote. It will be noted that only one of the 4 candidates cast a vote—Peter Heiskell voted for Robert Douthat. Michael Garber, Robert Douthat, James McGonigal and Peter Heiskell were the four candidates. The winning candidates were Robert Douthat, 22 votes; and Peter Heiskell, 25 votes. Number of voters: 35. The record of the election is recorded in Augusta County Will Book 8, page 59.

Poll of Electors for Trustees of the Town of Staunton	
Isabella Abney	1
Isabella Burns	1
Elizabeth Blair	1
Mrs. Griffin	1
Euphemia Hughes	1
Robert Douthat	22
Michael Garber	1
James McGonigal	1
Peter Heiskell	25
Total = 35 votes	

Augusta County Will Book 8, page 59

The election poll was as follows:

Michael Garber

Jacob Geiger, Robert Grattan, Andrew Cutler, John Boys, Phil Dyer, Robert Bailey, Anthony Ingleton, Michael Syford, Jno Gates, George Weiford, John Gunn, John Backenstoe, William Higginbotham, William Breeze, Michael Cawley, John Moore, John Price, Jno Diddy Total = 18 votes

Robert Douthat

Jacob Kinney, Anthony Ingleton, Daniel Donovan, Robert McDowell, Peter Heiskell, John Gates, Joseph Dickey, Jos. Berry, Samuel Merritt, James Cochran, Jno Gordon, James McLaughlin, Alexr Wason, Smith Thompson, Wm. Breeze, Michael Cawley, William Chambers, G. Christian, Jno Price, John McDowell, Alexr Humphreys Total = 22 votes

James McGonigal

Michael Seiford, Jno Gunn, Jno Backenstoe, Jno Diddy Total = 4 votes

Peter Heiskell

Jacob Geiger, Robert Grattan, And. Cutler, Jno Boys, Jacob Kinney, Phil Dyre, Robt Bailey, Dan Donovan, Robert McDowell, Jos. Dickey, George Weifford, Samuel Merritt, James Cochran, John Gordon, James McLaughlin, Joseph Mathews, Alexr Wason, Smith Thompson, Wm Higginbotham, Wm. Chambers, George Christian, Jno Moore, John McDowell, Alexr Humphreys Total = 25 votes

The election poll was sworn to by Vincent Tapp, Secretary, before Alexander Humphreys, a Justice of the peace for Augusta County on January 1, 1793.

Why was an election held in Staunton recorded in Augusta County records? It was not until 1802 that Staunton began recording their own records. Before 1802, you find deeds, wills, marriage records and tax records, relating to residents of Staunton, recorded in the records of Augusta County.

¹Virginius Dabney, *Virginia, The New Dominion*, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1971, page 222

²Ibid, page 373

CORRECTION

Spring 1994 Bulletin

page 59, NSDAR winners were Earnest Dickerman and Edward E. Clark, Jr.

IN MEMORIAM

Mrs. Robert Morris Armistead*

Mrs. Richard P. Bell III

Mrs. J. Hunter Shomo

Mrs. Charles Fred Sitzler

Mrs. Stephen Russell Yount

*Charter Member

NEW MEMBERS SINCE MAY, 1994

Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Bast, Roanoke, Virginia

Mr. J. E. Braunworth, Staunton, Virginia

Mrs. Katherine Hawpe Brooks, Harrisonburg, Virginia

Mr. Thomas R. Cabe, Staunton, Virginia

Mr. & Mrs. Howard Collins, Staunton, Virginia

Mr. & Mrs. Joel B. Covington, Fishersville, Virginia

Mrs. Calvin Cross, Williamsburg, Virginia

Ms. Alice DeGenaars, Staunton, Virginia

Ms. Betty L. Ensley, Topeka, Kansas

The Reverend Mr. John M. Gallagher, San Francisco, California

Mr. & Mrs. Carl Litsinger, Waynesboro, Virginia

Mr. Richard P. Lucas, Verona, Virginia

Ms. Julia A. Maloney, Marietta, Georgia

Mr. Charles W. Marck, Logan, Ohio

Ms. Diana V. Powell, Atherton, California

Kathryn B. Staples, Estes Park, Colorado

Mr. Gergei Troubetzkoy, Staunton, Virginia

Western State Hospital, Staunton, Virginia

Presidents of the Augusta County Historical Society

- * Dr. Richard P. Bell, 1964-1966
- * Harry Lee Nash, Jr., 1966-1967
- * Dr. Marshall M. Brice, 1967-1968
- * Dr. James Sprunt, 1968-1970
- * Richard M. Hamrick, Jr., 1970-1972
- † Joseph B. Yount III, 1972-1974
- * Mrs. William Bushman, 1974-1976
- * John M. Dunlap, Jr., 1976-1977
- Miss Mary Kathryn Blackwell, 1977-1979
- Mrs. Harry D. Hevener, 1979-1981
- * John M. McChesney, Jr., 1981-1983
- Mrs. John E. True, 1983-1985
- Edgar R. Coiner, 1985-1987
- Charles R. Chittum, 1987-1989
- * Mrs. William B. Patterson, 1989-1991
- * R. Fontaine McPherson, Jr., 1991-1993
- Dr. James B. Patrick, 1993-1995

* Charter Member of Society

† Honorary Charter Member

